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JPRS Report

East Asia

Southeast Asia

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Observers Cite 'Despair,' 'Failure' at ASEAN Summit

Leadership Closing Speeches 'Downbeat'

42000172 Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING
HERALD in English 16 Dec 87 p 7

[Article by Barry Lowe in Manila]

[Text] The summit meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Manila ended on a tone of despair yesterday after assembled heads of government failed to agree on a single key issue, raising serious questions about the effectiveness and viability of the alliance.

In closing speeches heavy on platitudes but light on substance, the leaders of the six member States—Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and Brunei—sounded a downbeat note at the summit's lack of achievement.

Meeting for the time in 10 years, the ASEAN leaders demonstrated a divided purpose, which exposed the alliance to accusations that it was ineffectual despite its lofty ideals. [sentence as published]

The more significant shortcomings of the summit were:

Failure to agree on the steps that should be taken to achieve a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOP-FAN) in South-East Asia, which has long been an ASEAN goal.

Failure to make progress on a proposal to declare ASEAN a nuclear-free zone.

A confused reaction to latest developments on the Kampuchean issue. Avoiding comment on the recent talks between the Kampuchean rebel leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Phnom Penh's Prime Minister, Mr Hun Sen, the summit could only come up with a renewed call for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops.

A lack of progress on agreements for economic co-operation. Four minor agreements signed by the summit will have little impact on easing the fierce competition among ASEAN members.

Failure to discuss the long-term goal of creating an ASEAN currency.

Refusal to comment on pressing security issues such as the future of the US military bases in the Philippines.

The summit's lack of achievement was reflected in statements read by the heads of government as they addressed the closing ceremony in Manila's fortress-like International Convention Centre yesterday.

The Singapore Prime Minister, Mr Lee, who provided the highlight of the opening day with an impassioned call for ASEAN moral support for the Philippines in the face of that country's communist insurgency, indicated his disappointment at the summit's outcome by limiting his speech to a mere 140 words.

"We had much to do and much to accomplish before our next meeting," he said.

The Thai Prime Minister, General Prem, was more frank in his comments.

"Much remains to be done to translate our agreed objectives into action and deeds, and herein lie the challenging tasks ahead for us," he said.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Mahathir, described the summit communique, which has been given the title The Manila Declaration, as "a fair and frank assessment of ASEAN's achievements and shortcomings".

The Philippines Foreign Secretary, Senator Raul Manglapus, facing a barrage of questions from the 1200 foreign and local newsmen who covered the meeting, told a post-summit briefing the main achievement was that the summit took place at all.

Security worries caused by Manila's growing ranks of communist and right-wing urban terrorists had at one stage threatened to scuttle the meeting. But in the long run these concerns were outweighed by the summit's failure to come to grips with an agenda that was 10 years in the making.

Senator Manglapus tried to play down this lack of results by claiming that the deliberations by the heads of government took place according to the uniquely Asian concept of consensus.

He argued that real progress had been made on a number of vital issues.

However, some diplomatic sources insisted the summit was little more than a ceremonial gathering.

Its main purpose, they said, was to symbolise the support of the other ASEAN countries for President Aquino of the Philippines and her hard-pressed administration.

For Mrs Aquino the summit was a tough introduction to high-level international diplomacy.

She hinted in her opening speech on Monday that she wanted to discuss the US military bases—a paramount domestic issue in Philippines politics—with her fellow ASEAN leaders.

The only foreign head of State to come to Manila to meet the ASEAN leaders was the newly installed Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Takeshita, who flew in a few hours after the summit officially ended.

In his first trip abroad as Prime Minister, Mr Takeshita underscored the importance his country placed on expanding its political and economic links with South-East Asia.

He will demonstrate that purpose by sharing out \$2.8 billion in aid money among the neediest ASEAN countries in a much publicised gesture of goodwill towards the region.

No Action on ZOPFAN, NWFF

42000172 Quezon City WE FORUM in English
18-24 Dec 87 pp 3, 4

[Editorial report: "There Were Fighting Words in Manila, but No Action"]

[Text] No one ever really expected the third summit of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Manila this week to achieve anything fantastic, but still, analysts were amazed at how the summit's top leaders and behind-the-scene organizers managed to dodge the hard issues on a standing commitment to set up a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region (ZOPFAN) by postponing definite political action in the matter. The issue would have inevitably touched also on the controversial United States military bases in the Philippines, which some view as a contradiction of ASEAN's avowed goals for neutrality.

By Monday afternoon (as we were going to press), the salient points of the Manila Declaration, which ASEAN spokesman Ambassador Rodolfo Severino revealed to the press, showed a largely ambivalent attitude toward the ASEAN's security and political problems.

While Indonesia and Malaysia strongly batted for giving more immediate attention to the ASEAN's 1971 commitment to set up a ZOPFAN, and, as a first step a nuclear weapons-free zone, the ASEAN as a whole stressed the need first to consider the implications of such to regional security, the balance of forces, and the interests and views of states and major powers outside ASEAN.

The commitment to bring ZOPFAN into reality was also neatly sidetracked by an assertion by the leaders that the Kampuchean problem remained a major block to the establishment of the zone.

This, notwithstanding Indonesian President Suharto's call for quick action even though the Kampuchean crisis has not been resolved.

Thus did the Manila Declaration state its position: that the leaders endorsed the concept and early establishment of a nuclear weapons-free zone; however, they pointed out that the concept and timing of the treaty establishing the zone needs to be intensively studied. Moreover, they cited a need to consult "other countries in Southeast Asia and major powers" outside the region in considering the treaty for a NWFF.

As expected, the example of how the US applied the squeeze on New Zealand—which unilaterally banned passage of all nuke-carrying and nuke-fueled ships in its waters—seemed to haunt the ASEAN leaders, considering that most ASEAN states still look to the west for their markets.

Despite repeated questions by reporters as to the timetable for taking any definite political action on the ZOPFAN and NWFF, Ambassador Severino stressed there was no such schedule. Most of the questions thrown at the ASEAN spokesman reflected puzzlement over the seeming inability of the region's leaders to make any definite position and continue postponing action on the zone, which is believed to be inextricably tied to the Philippines bases question. This means that there is not much time to resolve the issues from the ASEAN perspective, because the RP-US bases treaty expire in 1991, and are up for review starting next year.

Just about the only tone of urgency toward setting up the ZOPFAN, and, as its essential part, the nuclear weapons-free zone, could be detected in Mr. Suharto's and, to a certain extent, in Prime Minister Mahathir's speeches.

President Corazon Aquino created a stir with her repeated allusion to the "Philippine factor" in ASEAN regional security, presumably referring to the bases, but failed to give any direction as to the Philippine intent on the matter. Earlier efforts by Philippine government officials to make the bases an Aseanwide issue, and thus seek regional endorsement for them, had been sharply criticized by nationalists as a means of dodging the constitutional provision indirectly scrapping the bases with its ban on nuclear weapons.

Mrs. Aquino said in her speech on the opening day of the summit:

"The Philippine factor is said to have contributed to the securing of the air space and sea lanes that are vital to the continued economic stability and growth of our neighbors in Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the Pacific.

"This is part of the reality that we are going to address in our security discussions this afternoon. In sum, the situation that presents itself is as follows:

"Once more the region is experiencing the convergence of an impressive and disturbing array of military power. Fortunately, that power has been held in check by the

approximate parity of the forces deployed, and, we hope, by the lessons of recent history about the folly of intervention and confrontation...

"Not surprisingly, ASEAN has moved to push the protagonists outside the region to make it difficult for them to settle their differences on our doorsteps and in our houses. This has led to the vision of a ZOPFAN and the call for a nuclear weapons-free zone in Southeast Asia.

"The Philippines anticipates that the coming discussions on the issue of overall ASEAN peace and security situation in which it plays a most significant role, will enlighten its future decisions on the matter."

If, indeed, the Philippines looks to her ASEAN neighbors in weighing the bases issue, then the matter must be urgently addressed by the association, and not deferred indefinitely.

The Philippine government's continued stalling on the urgent issues are also bound to create some very real confusion in the future, for there appears to be no real effort to study the implications of scrapping the bases after the treaty expires, or to prepare for the possible economic dislocation by planning how the valuable base sites could be converted.

The Philippines' ambivalence and attempts at clouding the real hard issues with rhetorics contrast with the urgent calls made by Indonesia and Malaysia for speeding up the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free zone as a step to ending superpower rivalry in the region, and as a means for peace.

Prime Minister Mahathir stressed the ASEAN should reject being transformed into a regional collective security arrangement or military alliance. Yet, by postponing definite political action on ZOPFAN, the ASEAN states have in effect prolonged years of lopsided military presence in the region, in favor of the western bloc.

Dr. Francisco Nemenzo, faculty regent of the University of the Philippines, observed cynically last Monday in the television talk show "Public Forum" that if the ASEAN states were really serious about ZOPFAN rhetoric, they could have pressured both the US and the USSR to pull out their bases from the area (mainly, Clark and Subic in the Philippines and the Soviets' bases in Danang and Cam Ranh Bay).

Political science professor Jose David Lapuz from the University of Sto. Tomas, also a guest at the same talk show, said the ASEAN states should have capitalized on the trend for peace being set in Washington, where Reagan and Gorbachev recently signed an agreement to remove their intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles.

Instead, by using the Kampuchean crisis and "other security implications" as an excuse to delay action, the ASEAN states are effectively delaying fulfillment of their final goal for neutrality and peace.

The past 20 years have already shown very little results in the direction of setting up ZOPFAN and the nuclear weapons-free zone, according to Alex Magno, also a UP political science professor who spoke at "Public Forum".

If ASEAN seems to be thriving on contradictions by stressing anew a commitment to ZOPFAN and at the same time allowing themselves to fall prey to superpower propaganda, it must only be because most of them are by themselves victims of contradiction.

Most of the ASEAN members are repressive states whose human rights records could easily be held up against them by the United States or even the frequent object of their criticism, Vietnam.

Some cynics had bluntly called the summit a "gathering of dictators."

As for the Philippines, which perhaps suffers the most from contradictions, there seems to be little definite that can be attained by hosting the summit. If ever, the P30-million event has only further highlighted our awkward position in the region as the doormat of our former colonizer and our brother Malays.

USSR Courtship of ASEAN Seen Failing

42000172 *Quezon City WE FORUM in English*
18-24 Dec 87 pp 2, 7, 10

[News analysis by Alberto M. Alfaro: "Soviet Courtship of ASEAN"]

[Text] Soviet overtures to expand relations with the Philippines and other members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are not likely to prosper in the near future.

The campaign began in July 1986 after Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev announced in Vladivostok that the USSR is "prepared to expand ties with Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Burma, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Brunei, the Republic of Maldives and the youngest independent participants in the region's political life..."

Although the Philippines and other Asian countries responded favorably to Gorbachev's call, relations have remained dormant mainly because of the deep-rooted fears of Soviet intentions and the strong economic and political influence still being exerted by the US on the region.

Favorable Soviet offers of assistance and better trade terms have failed to evoke a warm response from both the public and private sectors in the Philippines and some ASEAN members. "Smiles and sweet talk are not enough to assure Asian and Pacific states about good Soviet intentions and offers of constructive economic cooperation," says Mochtar Lubis, the noted Indonesian writer. Lubis thinks that it will be hard for the Soviet Union to enter Asia and the Pacific with a "clean image" because of its invasion of Afghanistan and involvement in the Kampuchean and Vietnam conflicts.

The Soviets are aware of these difficulties. They know that changing the perceptions of ASEAN countries which, like Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines, have experienced or are experiencing the effects of Communist insurgencies or subversion is a difficult task.

Former Ambassador Narciso Reyes and Dr. Alex Brillantes think the Soviet courtship of the Philippines and other Asian nations is part of a long-range plan to prepare for US withdrawal from the region. "There's no harm in trying to cultivate good relations with a US ally (the Philippines) in the event that a falling out with the US may develop; the Soviets will be there to fill any vacuum that may open up," says Brillantes in a paper published recently.

In the case of the Philippines, which is fighting a growing Communist insurgency, Wilfredo Villacorta, vice-president of De La Salle University and member of the board of the Philippine Council for Foreign Relations, cites several impediments to expanded relations with the Soviet Union.

Among these are the misconception among Filipinos that the Soviets are directly supporting the Communist New People's Army, the Catholic Filipinos' abhorrence of atheism, violence and dictatorship; and the strong US influence on the culture, politics and economy of the Philippines.

The average Filipino who has been conditioned by long years of "special relations" still clings to the traditional "free-world" view of a global East-West division. Villacorta says Filipinos think that "since Communism is evil, then so are the local Communists and Communist countries such as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and Vietnam."

But he believes this perception of Communism as evil may be slowly eroding in the countryside where the insurgency is most active and the rural folk have had close contacts with the New People's Army.

This inherent suspicion of Filipinos toward the Soviets may have been responsible for the recent spate of speculations about the presence of "white Soviet spies" in the countryside and the "mysterious landings by submarines

of arms for the NPA." Their perception of a link between the Soviets and the NPAs has been buttressed by the similarity in their objectives, which is the removal of the US bases.

It was probably fear that made the Government reject some enticing Soviet offers. A proposal to have Soviet ships repaired in the Bataan drydocks has been turned down reportedly because of American pressure. Americans fear the Soviets will use this as a ploy to spy on the giant US naval base in Subic. The Filipino community in Makati recently protested the construction of the Soviet Embassy building in Forbes Park, claiming it is near the Philippine Army base at Fort Bonifacio.

Philippine-Soviet trade has been on the downtrend since 1981, dropping to a low of \$44 million in 1985. The volume of trade, although favorable to the Philippines, is almost insignificant compared with trade with the United States and Japan, says Villacorta.

Former Soviet Ambassador Vadim Shabalin has said that Soviet attitude toward the Philippines is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and equal benefits, in accordance with the UN Charter. (Associated Editors)

ASEAN Militarization Analyzed, Criticized

42000172 *Quezon City WE FORUM in English*
18-24 Dec 87 p 5

[Interview with Adnan Buyung Nasution, Indonesian lawyer attending the Fifth General Assembly of the Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia, in Manila, December 1987, by Philippine News and Features (PNF): "Militarization Is a Trend in Southeast Asian States"]

[Text] (The concern over the security of the ASEAN heads of state appears to stem from reasons beyond bomb threats in Manila. The funds being extended, the military personnel and equipment being deployed and the strict security measures in the site of the meeting echo the increasing militarization in the region.

(In its Fifth General Assembly last week, the Regional Council on Human Rights in Asia deplored the increasing role of the military in many of the ASEAN countries and the militarization of their societies. The Council, an elite group of jurists and lawyers holding consultative status with the United Nations, said ASEAN leaders too have shown little or no regard for human rights.

(This lack of concern, the Council said is reflected in the absence in the ASEAN's "heavy on economics" summit agenda of any discussion on human rights. It also noted

the absence of a division of human rights in the ASEAN secretariat. The Council argued that human rights is not a purely integral matter, but a universal question that transcends all borders.

(Among those present at the Council's assembly in Manila was Indonesian lawyer Adnan Buyung Nasution, who defended General H.R. Dharsono, ASEAN's first secretary-general, when he was sacked by President Suharto.

(Nasution, known as Indonesia's "Ka Pepe" Diokno, helped found the legal aid and human rights movement in Indonesia and is alternate member of the International Commission of Jurists.

(He spoke with PNF's Sophie Bodegon on how the march towards economic progress has instead aided the deterioration of human rights observance in the region.)

PNF: How would you characterize the state of human rights in the ASEAN?

Nasution: All over Asia the observance of human rights has deteriorated. You see this in the empowering of the state in the ASEAN countries on one hand, and on the other, in the greater oppression of the people and in the weakening of democratic institutions. Last year for instance, hundreds were detained without due process. In Indonesia and Malaysia, three papers were banned in each of these countries. Also in Indonesia, we now have a special law, the law of societal action that empowers the state to supervise all organizations.

PNF: Last year the Asian Regional Council on Human Rights was elated by the People Power Revolution that swept Mrs. Corazon Aquino into power. Does the Council view the Philippines with the same sense of hope?

Nasution: We are less optimistic this year. There was so much going for Aquino. She was close to the human rights movement and we expected her as president to do more than provide respect for human rights. We thought she would encourage the ASEAN neighbors to follow suit.

But now, she appears to be under the influence of the military. And this is a trend in the ASEAN—militarization.

PNF: Since you come from a country that has a long history of military rule, what do you think of the capture by government forces of rebel soldier Gregorio Honasan?

Nasution: He may be an enemy now, but later I will not be surprised if Honasan becomes a government leader.

Look, if Cory does not strengthen democratic institutions, she will be in trouble. Now she has no base, except the people. But that is weak. She now has to rely on the military; because of this, she has tended to come under the influence of the military.

Because of this, popular support will not exist for long. If she wants to develop democracy, she must develop the civilian base. But this is lacking. In the meantime, the military is engaged in attempts at coup d'etat, an exercise that will in the long run make it stronger. Exercises like this make the military more conscious of their role in national politics.

It will be a matter of time when Gringo becomes a national leader. Look at his courageous stance—when all generals submitted themselves to (former president) Marcos, he dared take the initiative.

It is good if he withdraws from the military. If he stays, he will become a military dictator.

PNF: Analysts say that this concern for peace and order is temporary. That governments in transition will swing to concerns of social justice once peace and order is restored...

Nasution: This is false...it is a contradiction in terms. If you want to build social justice, you cannot start by crushing the rights of people. You will lose the forces that tend to support government when it begins by taking on the cause of social justice. Aside from this, there will be no more power left to the people.

PNF: To what factors would you attribute this trend towards militarization?

Nasution: I fear that militarization increases because there is a meeting of two separate interests coming together for a common goal.

On one hand, there is the military. Like all military groups in the world, they are a privileged group with intelligence support, a monopoly in the use of force, organization better than any civilian group. Inherent ambitions in the military include entering political decision-making. Give them a little and they will grab more. This is why there are military dictatorships or military aristocracies.

The second interest is American interest. Because of America's global strategy, ASEAN has become important. Since the military is the more stable and reliable force, the US tends to support military regimes.

PNF: Do you expect much from this year's ASEAN summit meeting?

Nasution: The intention to set up the ASEAN was good—to provide cultural and economic well-being to the people in the region. But more and more, it is becoming an instrument to create a political and military pact in the region.

We are aware of these tendencies and fear that the meeting will be an exchange of experiences and technology on how to oppress people in the name of the security of Asia.

The ASEAN economic program has been a failure. I do not see any programs that worked in the cultural sphere either.

There is this eagerness to catch up with South Korea, Taiwan and Japan. For this the ASEAN has made peace and order a pre-condition for economic development, even if it means that they have to shut up people and destroy democratic institutions.

It will boomerang in the long run. Without these democratic institutions, there is no guarantee that these governments can manage the country. As democracy is eroded, corruption sets in and much of whatever wealth that is generated in economic growth will go to certain groups—including the military.

/06091

**Agriculture Attache Hits Press Commentaries
Against U.S.-USSR Wheat Sales**

42000205a North Richmond *THE LAND in English*
17 Dec 87 p 8

[Letter by James V. Parker, agricultural counselor,
American Embassy, Canberra: "Hard Roubles for US
Wheat"]

[Text] Sir: The issue of US wheat sales to the Soviets has
resurfaced. Uniformly, press commentary in Australia
continues, quite wrongly, to see this is a subsidy to the
Soviets. It is not, and Australia is not well served by
being misled on such a key issue. US Ambassador, Bill
Lane, has attempted several times to get the facts on the
table regarding the US export subsidy program.

I think it's worth another try. Living in a house of
mirrors may be desirable for the few who simply don't
want to know the truth. I suspect, however, that the great
majority of Australians would rather have facts instead
of rhetoric and misinformation.

The Soviets paid hard cash for both US and Australian
wheat. They paid the on-going, world market price. To
argue that the Soviets are receiving "aid" in the form of
free wheat from the US is to argue that the Soviets are
receiving similar "aid" from Australia.

I make this comment because, in both cases, the price
paid by the Soviets was less than the price paid to our
respective farmers for that same wheat. It was also less
than the price paid by our respective consumers for that
same wheat.

It is undeniable fact that the Soviets paid essentially the
same price for the US wheat as for the Australian wheat
(Australia sold first). It is likewise undeniable that this
price was less than what US and Australian farmers
received for their wheat.

Are the Soviets getting a bargain or a subsidy? I suspect
they would find that a laughable suggestion. What is
happening, of course, in both Australia and the US, is
that we are paying our producers more for their wheat
than it's currently worth in the world marketplace. Thus,
we must either drop our price to meet the market or
watch someone else walk away with the business.

The Australian Wheat Board has had the flexibility to
sell in to the world market for less than what it paid
Australian wheat growers this past year. Until the Export
Enhancement Program, the US lacked that flexibility.
Accordingly, we lost 50 per cent of our wheat exports and
sold not a tonne into the Soviet market for two years.
During that time, Australia enjoyed three years of
back-to-back record wheat exports, including huge sales
to Russia.

Subsidies are bad. The US wants to eliminate all forms
of subsidisation and import protection from the world
marketplace. We're working closely with Australia to get
the job done. This process is best served by sticking to
the facts and minimising the misinformation.

James V. Parker, Agricultural Counselor, American
Embassy, Canberra.

#09599

**Weekly Reports Mining Manpower Concerns,
USSR, PRC Deals**

42000169c Sydney *TRIBUNE in English* 18 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Denis Day: "Pilbara Iron Ore Redundancies
Grow"]

[Text] Unions in the iron ore industry in the Pilbara
region of Western Australia are mounting a campaign
against increasing redundancies in the area.

The unions are concerned that mining companies in the
area are producing the same annual tonnage of iron ore
while employing fewer workers. Automation and intensi-
fied machinery are being used to replace workers.

The Pilbara was the site for a major industrial dispute
last year when Peko-Wallaseid sacked 1,200 workers at
the Robe River iron operation, sparking off a five-week
strike. The dispute, which was hailed as a "test case"
against "union power" by leading New Right figures,
ended with the company backing down.

However, Peko-Wallaseid has continued to victimise
workers and ignore a new disputes-settling procedure
since the end of the strike. Hundreds of workers left
Robe River during and after the dispute, but the com-
pany is increasing its production of iron ore.

During 1987, the company has mined record tonnages of
iron ore and produced a huge stockpile, with less than
900 workers on the payroll, compared with the 1,200
working there last year.

Hamersley

Other companies in the area are making larger cuts to
their workforces. Hamersley Iron, after losing much of
its market to Mt Newman Mining Co, is going ahead
with large-scale redundancies at its Tom Price mine and
its port at Dampier.

In 1988, Hamersley will employ about 1,000 less people
than it does this year.

Mt Newman Mining will have to produce a record tonnage of iron ore next year to fulfil its increased orders for the Japanese steel mills. Nonetheless, they are offering early retirement packages to workers over 50 years of age. They will also operate with about 1,000 less workers next year, despite the need for increased production.

Not replacing

Goldsworthy Mining Ltd is also making cuts to its workforce of 900 by not replacing retiring or resigning workers.

Employment in the Pilbara area has already been hit hard by downturns in the steel industry. Between January 1982 and June 1983, over 1,700 jobs were lost in WA's iron ore industry following the worldwide decline in the steel industry which cut overseas demand for iron ore.

The unions' campaign against the increase in redundancies is based around the economic impact of unemployment in the area.

They point out that the economic well-being of the Pilbara community depends on the money spent each week from the pay packets of the iron ore workers. As soon as iron ore workers in the area become unemployed they immediately leave for more congenial parts of the country, so even the meagre social security payments don't become available to the Pilbara economy.

The unions are stressing this point to local business and community groups to point out that Chambers of Commerce and Shire Councils have a vested interest in trying to maintain staffing levels in the iron ore companies.

Moscow mission

Meanwhile, a mission will travel to Moscow this month, aimed at opening up new markets for the WA iron ore industry. WA Minerals and Energy Minister David Parker will travel to Moscow on November 10 with Bob Hawke to discuss Pilbara iron ore sales to the Soviet Union.

The mission will try to negotiate cash sales and barter deals similar to those reached recently with Romania. WA already sells ore to Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Pilbara iron ore sales to China have jumped from two million tonnes in 1983 to 10 million tonnes. These sales are increasing by one million tonnes a year.

The Soviet Union produces 250 million tonnes of iron ore a year, and supplies 35 million tonnes to eastern European countries. However, much of this ore is low grade and needs to be processed in new blast furnaces. It is cheaper to import high-grade ore from Australia than to build new furnaces.

The mission hopes to persuade the Soviet Union that it is in its financial interest to withdraw from part of its iron ore market in East Europe to allow those countries to import ore from Australia.

08309

Daily Hits French Evacuation of Rainbow Warrior Detainee

42000181b Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English
16 Dec 87 p 8

[Editorial: "France's Bad Pacific Name"]

[Text] The decision by the French Government to repatriate Alain Mafart to France from the French Polynesian island of Hao will further damage France's already low prestige in the Pacific. Mafart was serving out a sentence on Hao for his part in the July 1985 bombing of the Greenpeace flagship, the Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland Harbour.

Mafart had been convicted by a New Zealand Court for manslaughter for his part in the incident in which a Greenpeace crewman was killed. He was sentenced to 10 years' jail, but after only seven months of this sentence he and an accomplice were transferred to Hao under French custody to serve only three more years.

All those who value democracy have much to thank France for, but the Rainbow Warrior bombing was an outrageous crime that violated New Zealand's national sovereignty. It was nothing less than an act of terrorism against a friendly power and damaged France's credibility throughout the Pacific. It also gave invaluable ammunition to all those anti-Western groups that campaign so actively throughout the Pacific.

We took the view at the time that the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Lange, should not have agreed to the deal with the French Government concerning the two convicted terrorists, and that the French agents should have served out the full terms of their sentences in New Zealand prisons.

Now the French have taken Mafart back to Paris, allegedly because of medical problems. However, it is difficult to see why the French refused a New Zealand offer to fly a doctor to Hao. Mr Lange has said that a London-based New Zealand doctor who examined Mafart after his arrival in Paris found that his condition was not "life threatening", did not require immediate surgery and did not require evacuation from Hao.

Mr Lange has pointed out that the agreement between the two governments, under which the French terrorists were held on Hao, requires the consent of both governments for the terrorists to be moved. This consent was neither sought nor given.

The Rainbow Warrior bombing has left a stain on France's good name. France has exacerbated the situation by its arrogant and insensitive attitude to the people of the South Pacific; this latest incident appears to be simply another in which people of this region are treated as colonials whose feelings count for little and sense of justice for even less.

The present situation was brought on by Mr Lange's allowing the two French terrorists to serve out short sentences on Hao rather than their full sentences in New Zealand. The whole saga reflects badly on both Auckland and Paris, although France is clearly the main transgressor, whose reputation and standing in the Pacific have justifiably declined the most. It remains to be seen if it will attempt to regain some of that lost ground by sending Mafart back to his island exile once his medical treatment is completed.

/06091

Wheat Board Announces Egypt Sale, Higher Guaranteed Price

42000160a North Richmond THE LAND in English
26 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Alan Dick]

[Text] The Australian Wheat Board has announced a new 1.5 million tonne sale to Egypt and a likely \$2 a tonne increase in the Guaranteed Minimum Price.

What farmers were given the good news as winter cereal harvesting moved into top gear this week along the grainbelt.

The Egyptian sale, worth about \$200 million, will be shipped in 1988 and is part of Australia's long term contract with that country.

Australian and Egyptian negotiators are reported to have settled on a price of slightly more than \$US100—or \$A145.73—a tonne.

Under the agreement, Australia will supply a minimum of 10 million tonnes over five years, with a minimum yearly shipment of 1.5 million tonnes.

Wheat Board chairman, Clinton Condon, said yesterday the board would have liked to have supplied more next year but had been limited by the reduced crop in Australia this season.

He said exports were expected to fall from 15 million tonnes over the past year to 10 million tonnes in the coming year.

He said Egypt remained an extremely important market for Australia despite problems which forced Egypt to reschedule its debts.

Mr Condon also announced that the preliminary GMP of \$135.10 a tonne for this harvest could rise by about \$2 when the final GMP was announced early next year.

The rise would occur if the Australian dollar stayed in the mid to high US60c range and the recent firming of world prices was maintained.

"The continued firming of world wheat prices stems from a worldwide shortage of sound quality milling wheat," he said.

He said new season's deliveries to the board were approaching two million tonnes.

Payments had been made to growers on 933,000 tonnes, and totalled \$120 million for an average on-farm return of \$87 a tonne.

The board is expecting to receive a total of 11.3 million tonnes Australia wide this harvest.

Apart from severe storm damage across a narrow strip through the NSW north west, good weather has allowed the harvest of winter crops in NSW to get into full stride.

The NSW Grain Handling Authority had received about 1.2 million tonnes of wheat by the middle of this week, with deliveries coming in at the rate of about 150,000 tonnes a day.

Quality is generally good, except for a tendency for below average protein, and fears of weather damage from rain in the north three weeks ago have proved unfounded.

The NSW Barley Marketing Board has received about 100,000 tonnes, most of it malting grade, and board manager, Ted Shawyer, said grain was coming in at a rate that would allow the board to meet its export malting barley commitments.

He said also the decline in the Australian dollar and an improvement in world malting barley prices meant growers could receive up to \$15 a tonne in their second payments.

Harvesting of cereals is gradually spreading south, with silos just beginning to open in the eastern half of the southern wheat belt.

NSW manager for the Australian Wheat Board, Graham Lawrence, said just over 300,000 tonnes of Prime Hard wheat had been received, and deliveries were on target for the expected 400,000 tonnes of this grade.

He said Northern Hard grade deliveries to the middle of this week totalled about 267,000 tonnes, but with protein averaging closer to 12pc than 13 pc.

ASW wheat was also coming in at below average protein, probably because of the wet weather in October.

Most of the Central West has experienced a good sustained run of harvesting weather, the best for several years, according to NSW Agriculture Department research agronomist at Condobolin, Neil Fettell.

Storm rains which have brought 50mm of rain or more to large areas of the Monaro during November have relieved the drought situated there.

District agronomist at Cooma, Stuart Burge, said most of the Bombala Pastures Protection board district was expected to come off the drought declaration listing next month.

08309

Communist Weekly Views Uranium Exports to France

42000169d Sydney *TRIBUNE in English* 25 Nov 87 p 7

[Article by Stephen Long: "Greenpeace Challenges Uranium Export Push"; first paragraph in italics]

[Text] "France has a large, steadily growing nuclear power industry and the demand for uranium is such that Australia, as a low-cost and reliable supplier, is in a position to obtain significant long-term contracts to supply uranium to France."

Gareth Evans, federal Minister for Resources and Energy, August 19, 1984.

Thus read the press statement announcing the Hawke Labor government's decision to lift the ban on uranium exports to France. France has steadfastly refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty—normally a precondition for Australian export contracts—and the decision caused a storm both within and without the party.

When the crunch came, however, economic arguments won the day. Labor's right justified the historic reversal by pointing to Australia's severe balance of payments problems.

Now, the same argument is being used in a push to open more uranium mines, removing the last vestiges of a policy which once stood for a complete phasing out of uranium mining.

In September this year, the federal Minister for Primary Industries and Energy, John Kerin, reopened the debate on whether Australia should continue to limit the mining and export of uranium to three existing mines—Ranger, Narbelek and Roxby.

The Narbelek mine is due to close next year, and supporters of uranium exports within cabinet are urging that it be replaced with at least one other mine—most probably Jabiluka which lies within the boundaries of Kakadu National Park.

Kerin has argued that demand for uranium from the French nuclear power industry will expand during the next decade, and that Australia can look to supplying about 25

of its market—worth up to \$200 million dollars a year at current terms—throughout the 1990s.

Last week, however, Greenpeace released a detailed report which challenges these assumptions.

Despite the government's optimistic projections, the chances of expanding uranium exports to France are slim. Greenpeace's research shows that, far from being a "steadily growing" industry which will expand during the 1990s, the French nuclear power industry has ended a period of growth and is facing a major decline.

Already, the industry has built reactors to the point where electricity supply exceeds demand. Through heavy investment and over-capacity, it had accrued a debt of 220 billion French francs by 1986, and could not survive without a heavy government subsidy.

Over-built

Official French records show that no new plants will come on line after 1997. The French government has also admitted that the country's electricity authority would have "two too many" nuclear plants by 1990, and would be "a little overbuilt in nuclear by 1987, maybe 1986."

"With these trends," Greenpeace argues, "France's nuclear capacity is more likely to be declining than expanding by the year 2000 ... To assume that French uranium demand ... will be coming from a steadily expanding industry is almost certainly a mistake—and a costly one."

Greenpeace also contends that Canada's market dominance—and the strong upsurge of US protectionists—will undermine Australia's uranium export prospects.

There is no moral or social justification for uranium exports. Greenpeace research shows that—despite the government's claims—there also exists no economic justification for Australia to expand its uranium industry.

08309

ALP Left To Fight for Industry Boost

42000180e Sydney *THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English* 16 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Glenn Milne]

[Text] Canberra—The ALP Left will mount a campaign urging the Government to use the Budget surplus for incentives to boost industry, rather than pursuing the "obsessive" goal of further spending cuts.

The Left plans to launch the campaign in the run-up to the May mini-Budget.

Faction leaders believe that the projected surplus of \$580 million, announced by Mr Keating last week, should be used to develop incentives for import replacement and value-added export industries as part of a structural response to the nation's balance of payments problems.

The Left's response to the May mini-Budget was discussed at a meeting of MPs in Canberra on Thursday. The faction reaffirmed its opposition to any further big cuts in the welfare area, and planned another meeting to consider strategies in February.

Mr Peter Baldwin, the left-wing MP and chairman of the Caucus Industry Committee, said yesterday that any move towards further across-the-board expenditure cuts in May would be "perverse" given the Budget surplus.

"In the light of the stock market crash there is great uncertainty about where the economy is going, and already there are indications of a weakening of the labour market," Mr Baldwin said.

"To further screw down on fiscal policy in these circumstances would be perverse. To the extent that expenditure cuts impinge on outlays that have benefits for industry development and growth, they are also perverse.

"Further fiscal restraint could well be counterproductive in solving our basic structural problems."

Mr Baldwin's comments came as balance of payment figures for November, released yesterday, showed a continued improvement in trading performance. There was an underlying downward trend in the current account deficit, falling from the revised \$1.196 billion figure in October to \$767 million.

But the figures showed a continuing absence of strong export growth.

The Left's approach to the May mini-Budget opens a second front in its conflict with the Prime Minister over the question of privatisation, and is linked to that issue.

The Left believes that the use of the Budget surplus for industry assistance and incentives should be channelled through the Australian Industry Development Corporation.

But the Minister for Industry, Senator Button, supports a move to raise \$40 million-\$50 million in new capital by selling 30 per cent of the corporation. This is despite a Caucus decision to include the corporation on a list of Government authorities subject to reports by ministers detailing how they can be kept in public ownership.

The corporation invests in commercial ventures, often when they have difficulty obtaining funds elsewhere, and as a means of retaining an Australian stake.

The Left sees the virtual privatisation of the corporation as an example of tight fiscal policy completely dominating the option of industry restructuring.

The corporation chairman, Sir Gordon Jackson, revealed yesterday that 25 Australian companies may be forced to abandon new investment plans because it is too short of cash to help them.

The companies sought assistance from the corporation after they failed to get extra funds from normal sources in the wake of the stock market crash.

The issue of using the Budget surplus to assist industry was raised at Thursday's meeting of the Left in the context of Senator Button's plans for the corporation.

A joint meeting of the Caucus committees on industry and on the sale of assets rejected arguments put by Senator Button, and passed a motion proposed by Mr Baldwin supporting the need for increased equity for the corporation, expressing a strong preference for this to be provided through the Budget, and saying that the Caucus should become involved in trying to obtain the money.

/06091

Report Hits Defense Readiness, Management

42000181c Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English
16 Dec 87 p 9

[Article by Peter Young: "When Soldiers and Civilians Don't Mix"]

[Text] Just more than three years ago, the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence—or the Cross Committee as it is known—blew the whistle on the appalling state of our defences.

In a damning indictment of the Hawke and previous governments, the report found our defence force structure and capability "inadequate in terms of its short-term deployment capacity and combat sustainability, its expansion potential and its operational command structure".

Australia's armed forces, the report said, "were essentially reactive"—unable to meet "even a low-level threat in a timely and effective manner". Any prospective enemy, it warned, was "likely to see Australia's forces-in-being as thinly spread and generally ill prepared".

The tragedy of it all is that, despite the great hopes raised in the Dibb review and the Defence White Paper, little has changed.

The findings of the report, which were based on some of the most responsible and expert advice in the country, received overwhelming support from the majority of the defence community. But, after an eight-month silence, the report eventually was condemned by the Government as simplistic and inaccurate in a rebuttal which remains a classic of bureaucratic obfuscation and doublespeak.

Last week in Canberra, the same committee came up with a second report. This time, the subject was the management of Australia's defences and, again, the committee succeeded in spelling out what most people thought. Its central recommendation was that it was the soldiers, not the civilians, who should have charge of defence.

It called for a greater ministerial and parliamentary say in the formulation of defence policy and an end to the domination of defence and the ponderous defence committee system by the bureaucracy which, it said, had led to "conflict, tensions and an inadequate involvement of the military".

The report said the system of "dual" decision making, where authority was shared between the military and civilians, was "badly out of balance in key policy areas". It charged that the powers of the civilian Secretary of Defence had been increased at the expense of the military commander, the Chief of Defence Force (CDF).

Rather than bringing together the public servants and soldiers, the existing organisation meant that much of the making of defence policy proceeded more by "a process of confrontation and bargaining than mutual cooperation".

In tabling the report in Parliament last Monday, Mr Manfred Cross, the chairman of the defence sub-committee that framed it, said that, as a matter of principle, "the person who is to be responsible to the Government for the defence of Australia in times of emergency or war...should have the major say in how the defence force and its supporting framework is developed and managed".

The next day, Senator David McGibbon, the committee co-chairman, went further with the blunt statement that "the present system simply would not work in time of war".

Instead, the report recommended that the whole of the defence planning organisation under control of the Secretary of Defence be transferred to the CDF along with direct command of the three individual services and a greater role in the management and development of the department's civilian staff.

It also called for the recently introduced Joint Force System to be strengthened and for the setting up of a new organisation based on two functional commands—a Ready Reaction Command and Home Defence Command.

Under these proposals, the CDF would assume responsibility for all operational matters while the Secretary of Defence would be relegated to providing the necessary administrative support.

It would be difficult to find anyone within the services who would disagree with these common sense recommendations. The only area of contention might be in the need for a committee along the lines of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee as a counter to a one-man role of the CDF that, under a weak incumbent, effectively could make the Minister a de facto commander in chief.

There is little chance of any of it ever being adopted, however, at least not under the present Government. In a personal letter to Mr Cross dated November 3, Defence Minister Kim Beazley made it very clear that he was happy with things as they were.

The division of studies, he said, remained the prerogative of the Government and should depend on what the Minister of the day considered "necessary, sensible and workable". The existing directives, said the letter, reflected his views on how he wanted the functions of the CDF and Secretary of Defence to work. "If I had not been satisfied with them, I would not have issued them."

The disagreements over policy direction in the past that led to the appointment of an outsider in the form of Mr Paul Dibb to undertake the review of Australia's defence capabilities "free of day-to-day pressures or organisational constraints" have been resolved, it seems, "and are firmly agreed by the new office holders in the position of CDF and Secretary".

Despite this new-found amity, Mr Beazley admitted that "if Australia were preparing for military hostilities, the present directives would probably be amended".

He admitted there might be a need for further amendments if anyone mounted a threat against Australia when "the roles of the CDF and Secretary would need redefinition to recognise the wider responsibilities that would be placed on the Commander of the Defence Force in managing and deploying military forces for operations".

Of course, none of this was designed for public consumption, with the letter marked "personal" and "not authorised for publication". It's easy to see why, since it was a virtual endorsement of Senator McGibbon's warning that the present senior defence organisation was neither organised nor prepared for war.

In the meantime, there is a deafening silence from both the Department of Defence and the Minister's office. Neither will make any statement "until the report has been considered in full" after which they will probably condemn it as simplistic and inaccurate.

It was the first Cross report, however, that alerted the public to the full extent of our defence unpreparedness and which was the mainspring for many of the reforms that have since been made.

It is to be hoped that someone like the CDF speaks out in support of the similar home truths laid out in the latest one before it is all glossed over by more bureaucratic doublespeak and the opportunity for change lost forever.

/06091

Right Fears Halfpenny Takeover of ACTU

42000180i Sydney THE AUSTRALIAN in English
16 Dec 87 p 2

[Article by Paul Molloy]

[Text] Right-wing unions fear the secretary-elect of the Victorian Trades Hall Council (VTHC), Mr John Halfpenny, is now in the box seat to succeed Mr Simon Crean as ACTU president after his landslide victory last week.

The unions told THE AUSTRALIAN that Mr Halfpenny would be a prime candidate for the leadership of the ACTU in 1991 if Mr Crean sought to enter federal parliament as expected.

Mr Halfpenny stunned observers last Thursday with a landslide 277 to 211 victory over the Right in a ballot for the leadership of the ACTU's second largest State branch.

The Right fears that if Mr Halfpenny makes good his commitments to revitalise the moribund VTHC, he will have further bolstered his position when seeking re-election in March 1991.

His re-election would then put him in a strong position to challenge for the ACTU presidency during September of the same year, depending on Mr Crean's decision about a political career.

The Right already fears that Mr Halfpenny as VTHC secretary will be capable of "developing and recasting ACTU policy" because of expected support from the Left-oriented State peak councils in Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland.

"With their support and that of four or five major left-wing unions he will be more than capable of making an impact on policy," one source said.

The unions spoke out yesterday at the same time as Mr Halfpenny criticised the acting secretary of the NSW Labor Council, Mr Michael Easson, and a report in THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN.

Mr Halfpenny said the report that he intended to "kill" the Government's wages plan was "a product of the demented minds of people who run Murdoch newspapers".

Bitter

He also challenged Mr Easson's comments that his election was "a disaster for moderate unionists" by saying: "Michael has always been a bit slow but given enough time he will appreciate my election will be good for the union movement in Victoria generally."

"I don't regard his comments as being very authoritative."

Right-wing unions are furious at the ascendancy of Mr Halfpenny and apportion the blame for their shock loss to a number of moderate unions, which "rattled" on pledges to support the right-wing candidate, Mr Jini Young.

The failure of some union delegates to observe their own union executive endorsements and "naive" decisions by some moderate unions, and one right-wing union, the Australian Textile Workers Union (ATWU), were also considered to be factors in Mr Halfpenny's win.

There is also bitter feeling about the roles played by the former secretary, Mr Peter Marsh, and the Victorian Minister for Labor, Mr Crabb, in Mr Halfpenny's election.

Mr Marsh gave no forewarning of his decision last month to take up a \$70,000-a-year appointment with the Victorian State Industrial Relations Commission, which followed only one week after his wife, Mrs Jan Marsh, had been appointed to a \$90,000-a-year position with the Arbitration Commission.

The Right believes that its candidate, Mr Young, who is also a VTHC vice-president, suffered an electoral backlash because he was seen to be linked with Mr Marsh.

They also believe Mr Crabb's decision to appoint Mr Marsh was ill-considered and had ended at least 60 years of moderate and right-wing control of the council almost overnight.

The ATWU was the only true right-wing union, identified by its faction, as having committed its eight votes to Mr Halfpenny on the basis of his campaign against reductions in tariff protection. The decision was branded "naive and childlike" by right-wing sources.

Among the moderate unions accused of "ratting" were the Hospital Administrative Officers Association of Victoria, 4 votes, the Kindergarten Teachers Association of Victoria, 4 votes, the Australian Insurance Employees Union, 5 votes, the AMP Staff Association, 3 votes, and the Victorian Allied Health Professionals Association, 4 votes.

The Right also believes that "pressures from outside and above" led to the Victorian branch of the Waterside Workers Federation swapping its 4 votes to Mr Halfpenny shortly before the ballot, which also swung about another 6 votes Mr Young expected from some small maritime unions

Mr Halfpenny's initial task when assuming office next February will be to contend with the right-wing and moderate majorities on the council's staff of about 30 and their 12 to nine majority on the executive.

/06091

Editorial Warns Against Farm Link to Antienvironmentalism

42000169b North Richmond *THE LAND in English* 26 Nov 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Heritage Risks"]

[Text] Farmers should treat warily the suggestion by National Farmers Federation president, Ian McLachlan, that Farm Fighting Fund monies be used to foster public awareness about world heritage listings.

In signing their names to any broad antienvironmentalist campaign such as this, farmers could set back farmer-environmentalist relations by decades, antagonise governments at both State and federal levels, and reinforce the popular fallacy that farmers are land rapists—all for no discernible benefit.

Most of the heritage listing debates concern forest country and, as such, are more the preserve of the timber industry.

08309

Editorial Warns Improved Balance Misleading

42000181a Sydney *THE AUSTRALIAN in English* 16 Dec 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Trade Figures Mask an Emerging Crisis"]

[Text] The apparent improvement in the balance of payments last month masks the fact of a country that is disregarding the warning of the global sharemarket crash. So far foreign investors have reacted to the crisis more responsibly than the Australian community.

The \$767 million current account deficit was a seasonal improvement only. There was a surge in imports that had little to do with higher prices wrought by a J-curve. Business investment is sluggish, so the additional spending was no more than a consumer binge.

While it might be comforting to know the sharemarket crash has not unduly frightened consumers, it is alarming that foreign investment has disappeared altogether. The whole current account deficit was financed by the Reserve Bank and government borrowings.

It is unsustainable for Australians to be spending more on imported consumer goods financed by government borrowings and a rundown of foreign exchange reserves.

Nothing could be more calculated to keep business investors away than more sales of foreign exchange, which would result in a lower dollar and even more borrowings.

Further, the 2 per cent rise in exports was entirely seasonal, and then mainly due to the efforts of farmers. Exports are only just holding up because of the rise in commodity prices, which is by no means assured to continue next year. There is no net private capital inflow at all, and no sign that Australian industry will be able to meet some of the demand for imports.

Although there has been no shortage of federal government rhetoric about the need to promote business investment in industries that can produce goods for export markets or replace imports, too little has been done.

Investment has not been forthcoming, partly because of the uncertain international outlook. But there have been home-grown reasons as well, including labour costs that are rising faster than those of our competitors, relatively high interest rates and unreasonable business taxes.

To its credit, the Federal Government has decided to bring down a mini-Budget that will boost business confidence. But it has postponed the measures until May, by which time the balance of payments, on present trends, will have reached a crisis point.

The Government must also step up Treasury's review of business taxation with the aim of reducing the overall burden to the level enjoyed by our main competitors.

Because the sharemarket crash has apparently done such little damage locally, its warning has been muted. But it has already lured away foreign investment at a time when Australia has never been more dependent on it. The longer the Government's response is delayed, the worse our problems will become.

/06091

Aborigine Church Group Links Nuclear-Ethnic Issues

42000169e Sydney TRIBUNE in English 25 Nov 87 p 9

[Lyndell Fairleigh spoke to Rev. Charles Harris, president of the congress, about the march and the congress' approach to next year; first two paragraphs in italics]

[Text] Aboriginal people are already putting into action strategies to counter the upcoming bicentennial bash. The March across Australia for Freedom, Justice and Hope was launched in July this year by the Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress of the Uniting Church of Australia.

The congress is encouraging non-Aboriginal as well as Aboriginal people who feel the system is unjust and working against those on the lower rungs of the social ladder to participate. The march will end in Sydney next January—in time for a week of activities and protest at the celebration of British invasion.

The Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress is a member of a national coalition of Aboriginal and Islander organisations which met in June this year to devise strategies for 1988. The meeting adopted the theme "We Have Survived." And that is a fundamental theme behind the march as well, Harris said.

Aboriginal people have survived the paternalistic approach of government, church and state. Marching is part of the long and continuing struggle to free themselves of that paternalism. They are also marching for the justice which, Harris said, is related to "a whole lot of other issues. Last year, for example, was the International Year of Peace, but you can't have peace without justice. It's like putting the cart before the horse."

Lastly, they are marching for hope, "for our children and the generations to come."

It's a positive statement, Harris continued. The march is intended to draw attention to the dispossession Aboriginal people suffer: "we are refugees and migrants in our own country."

Secondly, the march is one way of putting international pressure on both the federal and state governments. They have been "hypocritical in their dealings with Aboriginal affairs and brought shame on themselves," Harris said.

Governments typically take the attitude that "because we fund you then you have to do it our way," Harris said. Often, however, government prescriptions have been at odds with Aboriginal lifestyles.

Foisting the white bureaucracy on Aboriginal people has been one reason why there are no major positive signs of development for the Aboriginal people today," he said.

"Imposing a western system has been an injustice in itself," he continued, "Aboriginal people need the free will to choose for themselves or they are little more than robots or puppets."

International speakers will be adding their weight to the pressure on Australian governments. As world figures, they will be bringing the international media with them, Harris said.

Thirdly, it's hoped the march will bring "Aboriginal people together in solidarity across the board. We make up less than 1 percent of the population so it's imperative we come together and make a unified stance," Harris said.

"Governments have used the divide and conquer policy. I see division in every town I visit and throughout the country. The march is at the beginning of a ten year program to develop solidarity."

National body

Initiated by the congress, the march enjoys the full support of the Aboriginal coalition, Harris said. Made up of the National Federation of Land Councils and the major Aboriginal organisations, including the congress itself, the coalition would like to take on a role similar to the one the now defunct National Aboriginal Conference (NAC) played, Harris said. (The NAC was disbanded by the Hawke government a few years ago.)

The Aboriginal community needs a national body set up by Aboriginal organisations themselves, Harris said.

From that meeting in July came an emphasis on educating white Australia about what has happened to the Aboriginal people over the last two hundred years.

"You can't have a present or a future without a past," Harris said. "Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people need to examine the past together, to highlight the injustices not only to ourselves but to the rest of the world."

"All reconciliation involves two parties, whether it be friends, husband and wife, or clans. For a true and lasting reconciliation, however, we need to look at the past truthfully. Otherwise, the foundation is insecure."

Harris is concerned, however, that the jingoism surrounding the Bicentennial is whipping up racist fervor which may well erupt into violence. He stresses that any violence that does occur will "come from the other side, not from the Aboriginal people. Perhaps it comes from a guilt complex, from wanting to cover up history and pretend that race relations are 100 percent," he said.

Compact too late

Harris does become cynical at the mention of Hawke's proposed compact. "I've lost faith in all politicians. When all the chips are down, they're in it for themselves," he said. When Hawke first mentioned the compact Harris wrote to him saying it was two hundred years too late.

It's a disgrace to offer it so late compared to the treaties offered to other indigenous peoples in Aotearoa, Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea."

Any treaty worked on however, must include Land Rights, self-determination, sovereignty and some compensation, Harris commented. "Otherwise it's not worth the paper it's written on."

The congress is considering presenting a proposal to the government of what they believe should be included in the treaty/compact. Members are currently speaking with other Aboriginal organisations to find out how the community feels the treaty should be shaped and what should be included. Then the congress will make its statement.

The coalition is really the body to work on a treaty/compact, Harris believed. Gerry Hand, the federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, "has said he will listen to the Aboriginal people. Otherwise, it will all be just a continuation of the last two hundred years. But those times are past. Aboriginal people will not just take what is dished out to them."

08309

Aid in Health Services From China

42000184d Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
16 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] China has promised to send 10 doctors to Fiji in February and four more later, the Ministry of Health said yesterday.

"More importantly, the Chinese doctors are coming fully prepared to work with existing facilities and local conditions with local rates of remuneration," a Ministry of Health spokesman said.

China has sent an advance party of two to assess existing conditions and identify needs.

On their return they will fully brief the doctors on how they should fit into the Fiji medical system.

The Minister for Health, Dr Apenisa Kurisquila, met the team on Friday.

They are Professor Ding (vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Medical Services and Professor of Neurology at the University of Beijing) and Dr Lin Yuende (deputy director of the Zhejiang Medical University).

Discussions centred on the recruitment of doctors from China.

Professor Ding said that while China was also short of doctors "a friend in need is a friend indeed," the spokesman said.

"Professor Ding and Dr Lin are visiting Ministry of Health institutions in Vanua Levu and Viti Levu where their doctors will be deployed.

"They will also visit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Public Service Commission, the Fiji Nursing School and the Fiji School of Medicine.

"Some of the Chinese doctors will teach at these schools as part of their assignments," the spokesman said.

Professor Ding assured Dr Kurisquila that the 10 doctors would do their best to help alleviate problems in Fiji's health services.

Seven of the 10 doctors are associate professors of medicine (consultants) and the other three are registrars (medical officers).

The minister expressed gratitude for the gesture shown by the government and people of China for their willingness to help Fiji at a time when the Ministry of Health was faced with a great shortage of doctors.

"The recruitment of Chinese doctors is historical. It is the first time that Chinese doctors will be recruited into the Fiji medical profession," the minister said.

The minister assured his assistance in facilitating the recruitment and also guaranteed the safety and comfort of the doctors during their stay in Fiji.

The Principal Assistant Secretary for Health, Mr Poasa Ravea, said yesterday that indications from the talks were that China would send more doctors, depending on the success of the first group.

Mr Ravea said more doctors were expected from the Philippines which sent to Fiji five doctors on October 19 and another five on November 19.

08309

Japan's Aid Expected To Continue

42000185a Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
16 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] Japan will normalise its economic aid and technical assistance programme to Fiji following its formal recognition of the new Government headed by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

It exchanged diplomatic notes with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Suva on Friday, according to the acting Japanese Ambassador in Suva, Mr Noboru Hara.

Mr Hara told The Fiji Times yesterday that they replied to a note sent by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs with a note acknowledging it.

He said this meant Japan had extended normal government-to-government relations with Fiji.

He said he expected economic aid and technical assistance given to Fiji to normalise, although no specific instructions had been received from Tokyo by yesterday.

All aid except assistance for on-going projects were suspended by Japan after the first military coup.

Mr Hara said he expected aid to be resumed because his country now recognised the new civilian government.

"As you know we had extended full aid and technical assistance before the military coup.

"I expect that the government of Japan will continue its economic aid and technical assistance programme as it was before the coups," he said.

Mr Hara did not have any estimates for his country's aid programme for Fiji.

Its aid programme is finalised towards the end of the country's fiscal year which will be March 31 next year.

08309

Medical Aid From Australia

42000184c Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
16 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] The Government is yet to respond to an Australian aid programme which includes full payment of four doctors and amounts to about \$900,000 a year.

The programme, which has been revised to include full payment of the doctors, was first proposed to the military government and has been renewed with the present administration.

A spokesman for the Australian High Commission said yesterday they were still awaiting reply from the new administration on whether the offer had been accepted.

The proposal also includes \$200,000 worth of drugs and allocates \$300,000 for repair and maintenance of medical equipment and support in the bio-technological field.

Fiji is now facing difficulty maintaining adequate supplies of drugs, and although the situation is not critical, consumers and chemists are finding it difficult to get supplies.

No comments were available yesterday from the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Public Service Commission or the Ministry of Health on the Government's reaction to the proposal.

The Australian offer proposes to fund the programme through a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) that is acceptable to both Fiji and Australia.

Discussions between the Australian High Commission and Foreign Affairs Department first began after Australia withdrew aid after the second coup.

The idea of maintaining medical aid through NGO was proposed on humanitarian grounds.

The Fiji Times reported last month that the Public Service Commission and the Ministry of Health were not happy to accept aid through an NGO.

On Friday, the secretary of the PSC, Mr Poseci Bune, maintained he was not told of any discussions between Foreign Affairs and the Australian High Commission.

The PSC has terminated appointments of Australian-aided doctors in Fiji because it could not afford to pay them. The termination is effective from January 19.

Australia is now proposing to pay in full the salaries of four doctors to work in Fiji.

The president of the Fiji Pharmaceutical Association, Mr Pushp Chand, said yesterday financial constraints and a total trade ban imposed by India on imports to Fiji had significantly reduced the quantity of drugs being brought into the country.

"On the whole we (pharmacists) are not importing as much as we would like to import," he said.

He said about 85 per cent of their suppliers were now demanding advance payment.

Banks were also tightening on credit facilities and as a result importers of drugs were forced to limit their imports.

Mr Chand said traditional suppliers, such as Australia, New Zealand and Britain had also raised prices of drugs.

"This is a normal thing, but coupled with our two devaluations, consumers find they are now paying almost twice as much for some drugs," he said.

"We did not feel the price increases so much before the coups because of the strength of our dollars and the alternative of buying similar drugs for less from India," Mr Chand said.

"Previously, some of us also bought from the Bulk Purchase Scheme (Government suppliers), but now we find they do not have some drugs in stock," he said.

The Government supply is now out of Tolbutamide, a drug for diabetics, and potassium supplements, according to the association's secretary, Mr Bachu Bhai.

"The situation now is that for consumers, drugs are not as easily available as they used to be," Mr Chand said.

"But whether it will lead to an acute shortage, we don't know," he said.

08309

Aid From France Reported

42000184b Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
15 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Mesake Koroi]

[Text] The French government has given Fiji \$14 million, the first aid package to be received after the country was declared a republic on October 7.

The French deal came after the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, met with French officials in Suva three hours after he was sworn into office last Thursday.

Half of the money is a cash grant, while the rest is a "soft" loan.

While details of the deal are secret. The Fiji Times believes that most of that money will be spent on capital works to provide employment.

Both the Government and the French embassy in Suva are keeping quiet about the deal.

France's Minister for Pacific Affairs, Mr Gaston Flosse, officially visited Fiji after the first coup to present the Legion of Honour to a Fiji soldier.

He also had discussions with Government officials.

He returned to the country again after the September coup and met with officials of the Foreign Affairs Department and the military in Nadi for two hours before flying off again.

Government sources said yesterday that the French were likely to give more money.

Discussions were continuing with other countries for aid.

Fiji's major aid donors—Britain, Australia, New Zealand, the United States and the Commonwealth suspended aid after the military coup on May 14.

The new Cabinet will meet on Thursday to consider next year's budget.

Government spending will be slashed by 30 per cent because of reduced revenue.

These cuts will seriously affect employment.

In the Ministry of Works about 2000 Public Works Department employees are likely to lose their jobs next year.

But the Minister for Works and Transport, Mr Apisai Tora, said yesterday that he was doing everything possible to save the jobs.

"We are doing our best to see that redundancies are reduced to a minimum," he said.

Mr Tora will be meeting the secretary of the Public Employees Union later today to consider what action to take.

"We will be giving everybody a chance. We have a plan of action to take but it will not be made public until it's necessary," Mr Tora said.

Meanwhile, Japan has recognised the new Government.

This was announced by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Tokyo at the weekend.

08309

Reactions to Leadership Appointments

42000183a Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
8 Dec 87 p 1

[Text] Australia, New Zealand and other countries reacted with cautious optimism yesterday, while most local reaction to the appointments of President and Prime Minister was positive.

New Zealand's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Russell Marshall, said Fiji's return to civilian rule was "a very substantial step toward an acceptable and democratic Fiji government."

Mr Marshall said he welcomed the news that Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau had become President of Fiji.

Speaking from Port Moresby, Mr Marshall said the change in government made it rather more likely that New Zealand would increase the level of its recognition of Fiji.

But that would depend on the acceptability of the constitution, and on indications of a return to a popularly-elected government in Fiji.

Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara has been appointed Prime Minister.

"If you have a constitution which is more hardline and which is more expressly tilted against the non-Fijian communities, then we'd all have to look at that pretty carefully," Mr Marshall said.

The Australian government yesterday expressed hope that the appointments would lead to the formation of a truly civilian government.

Acting Foreign Minister Michael Duffy said Australia looked forward to the early release of details of a new constitution.

Mr Duffy said he hoped the latest developments would contribute to a speedy return of democratic parliamentary government as a solution to the country's political and economic problems.

Most diplomatic missions and organisations in Fiji adopted a wait-and-see attitude to the transfer of power to the civilian government.

A spokesman for the Chinese Ambassador, Mr Xu Ning Yuan, said Ratu Sir Penaia and Ratu Sir Kamisese were both "old friends of China."

"We respect them very much," the spokesman said.

"We believe these appointments would contribute to normalcy."

The president of the Fiji Hotels Association, Mr Michael Dennis, said they were encouraged by the developments at the weekend.

"This will gain international confidence and that is a major step towards economic recovery."

The British High Commissioner to Fiji, Mr Roger Baltrop, said they expected some comment from London soon.

"At the moment we have to sit and wait," Mr Baltrop said.

A spokeswoman for the American Embassy said they would wait and see.

Nadi Town Council has sent congratulatory messages to Ratu Sir Penaia and Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

The messages said the councillors, council employees and people of Nadi were grateful they had accepted the leadership roles during the current difficult times.

Several citizens and organisations in the Northern Division yesterday came out in support of the new leadership of the Republic of Fiji.

The director of the Sugar Cane Growers Council in the Labasa district, Mr Raman Singh, said a stable government was what everyone had been looking forward to.

"This is a step in the right direction," said Mr Singh.

08309

Editorial on Support for Government

42000183h Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
8 Dec 87 p 6

[Editorial: "Support for the Government"]

[Text] Judging from the groundswell of goodwill and support for the new civilian government headed by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, the people of Fiji have trust and faith in his leadership and that of the new president, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau. After months of strife and uncertainty, they feel relieved that the country is in the hands of tried and tested leadership. They have high expectations. In the face of such popular support for the new government, it is disturbing that the Taukei Movement has expressed dissatisfaction and is talking about yet another campaign. The Taukei Movement's three basic demands were a new constitution guaranteeing Fijian supremacy, the continuation of Fijian chiefly leadership and the protection of Fijian culture and

tradition. As they know only too well, a new constitution is being drafted. The new civilian government—which is only an interim government—is headed by two of the highest chiefs in the country. Fijian culture and tradition are to be firmly recognised and entrenched in the constitution. In fact, there never has been any attempt by anyone to interfere with the special rights of the Fijian people. So, what grievance does the Taukei Movement now have? Its spokesman says its members are not happy at the way in which they were turfed out of the military cabinet. At least they were not driven out at gunpoint. Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka has been fair and generous by letting them collect a full year's salary. When the political situation returns to normal, the Taukei Movement will have the freedom and the right to go to the people and seek their mandate through the electoral process. Instead of upsetting the apple cart now, its leaders should give the new government a chance to return the country to parliamentary democracy and then go into battle in accordance with the rules of the game.

08309

Prime Minister Announces Cabinet Members

42000183d Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
10 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Mesake Koroi]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, last night announced a 21-member Cabinet, including himself.

Ten of them were in the military government led by Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka.

Ratu Sir Kamisese has taken over Foreign Affairs as well and will also be responsible for the Civil Service.

Army Commander Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka is the Minister for Home Affairs, National Youth Service and Auxiliary Army Services.

An interesting feature of the Cabinet line-up is the inclusion of three army colonels apart from Brigadier Rabuka.

The three are Col. Vatilai Navunisaravi, who is Minister for Fijian Affairs, Col. Ilaisa Kacisolomone, who retains the Ministry of Youth and Sport from the dissolved military government and Lt. Col. Apolosi Biuvakaloma who is Minister of Rural Development and Rural Housing.

Their appointments are believed to be in accordance with a set of conditions prepared by the army to be agreed upon by Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau and Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara during their talks with Brigadier Rabuka before he relinquished power last Saturday.

According to yesterday's Fiji Post, one of the conditions was that at least two army officers in addition to the commander should be in the interim administration.

The eight-point set of conditions forwarded to the two chiefs were:

No member of the NFP/Labour Coalition is to be in the new Cabinet.

The draft constitution prepared by the military be accepted and any amendments to go through the forces' advisers.

Two army officers to be included in any constitutional review committee now and any committee formed for this purpose in the future.

At least two other officers exclusive of the commander to be part of the interim government.

No non-Fijian who was a former member of the colonial administration is to be engaged in any advisory capacity.

There should be regular meetings between the President, the Prime Minister and the commander and senior army officers, at least once a month.

Operation Yavato, an anti-corruption investigation is continued and.

The Public Service Commission portfolio is to be included in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

It appears that compromise was reached on the conditions, since Public Service falls within the Prime Minister's portfolio and not the Home Minister's.

No official comment could be obtained regarding those conditions set by the military.

Apart from the military appointments, Ratu Sir Kamisese has also decided to retain the Ministry for Indian Affairs and Women's Affairs portfolio established by the military government.

Mrs Irene Narayan retains the Indian Affairs Ministry while USP lecturer, Adi Finau Tabakaucoro, is the new Minister for Women's Affairs and Social Welfare.

Fiji's High Commissioner in London, Mr Sailosi Kepa, is the new Attorney-General and Minister for Justice.

Foreign Affairs Minister in the military government, Mr Filipe Bole, returns as Minister for Education, a post he held in the previous Alliance Government.

UNDP representative in Pakistan, Mr Berenado Vunibobo, arrived back in Fiji two weeks ago and is now the new Minister of Trade and Commerce.

NLTB manager, Mr Josefata Kamikamica is the new Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, while former Alliance member, Mr Ishwari Bajpai, is the new Minister for Co-operatives and National Marketing Authority.

Trade unionist Mr Taniela Veitata retains the Employment and Industrial Ministry he held in the military government. So does Ratu Sir Josia Tavaia the Ministry of Forestry.

Mr Apisai Tora retains the Communication, Works and Transport portfolio and Mr David Pickering the tourism portfolio with added responsibility for Civil Aviation and Energy.

Dr Apenisa Kurisagila continues as Minister for Health and Mr Viliame Goneleva as Minister for Primary Industries.

They all held the same portfolios in the military government.

With the exception of Adi Finau, Mr Kamikamica, Mr Vunibobo, Mr Kepa and the military officers, the rest are either ex-Alliance Ministers or Alliance parliamentarians.

Cabinet ministers will be sworn in by the President, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, at Government House at 11am today.

In Suva last night, the British High Commissioner, Mr Roger Bartrop, said the British government hoped that a civilian government would lead to a return to parliamentary democracy and constitutional government in Fiji.

He declined to comment on the Cabinet line-up.

The New Zealand High Commissioner to Fiji, Mr Rodney Gates, said he was examining carefully the respective interests represented in the new Cabinet and would be reporting to New Zealand today.

08309

Bio on Fiji Cabinet Members

42000183c Suva THE FIJI TIMES in English
10 Dec 87 p 8

[Text] RATU SIR KAMISESE MARA, KBE, MA (Oxon), 67, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and responsible for the Public Service. Became a new member of the Legislative Council in 1966, serving as Member for Natural Resources.

He was appointed Chief Minister in 1967 and Prime Minister on independence in 1970, and had held on to the post until the Alliance lost the general election in April this year. After the May coup he was in the military

government Council of Ministers and later became an Adviser to the Governor-General on Foreign Affairs. He dropped out after the September coup, until he was appointed Prime Minister by Ratu Sir Penaia at the weekend.

BRIGADIER SITIVENI RABUKA, 38, Minister for Home Affairs, National Youth Service and Auxiliary Army Services.

He was chief of military operations when he executed a coup in May and overthrew the Bavadra Government. He is also Commander of the Army, former Adviser to the Governor-General on Security until he staged a second coup in September and declared himself as Head of the Military government.

Brigadier Rabuka surrendered power to Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau at the weekend after appointing him Fiji's first President.

MR APISAI TORA, 53, is Minister for Communication, Works and Transport.

First elected to Parliament in 1972 on a National Federation Party ticket. He was reelected in 1977 but defeated in the second election of the same year.

He joined the Alliance Party in 1978 and re-entered to Parliament in 1982. Mr Tora won the same seat again in the April election. Served as Adviser to the Governor-General on the same portfolio and with the military government.

He is a former secretary of the Building Workers Union and the Fiji Sugar and General Workers Union.

MR TANIELA VEITATA, 49, is Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations.

He had been involved with the dockworkers and seamen's union for almost 30 years. Mr Veitata has been trying unsuccessfully for Parliament since 1977 until last April when he won the Kadavu/Samabula seat on an Alliance ticket. Mr Veitata is a founder member of the Taukei Movement after the April election. He held the same portfolio in the military government.

MRS IRENE JAI NARAYAN, 53, (BA) is Minister for Indian Affairs.

A teacher by profession. She was first elected to parliament in 1966 and attended the London Constitutional talks in 1970.

She was a member of the National Federation Party until she joined the Alliance Party just before the April election.

She has been a member of Parliament for 20 years. A former president of the NFP and Opposition spokesman for Finance. She stood for the Alliance party in the April election but lost. She held the same portfolio in the military government.

MR VILJAME GONELEVU, 49, (MA Engineering) is Minister for Primary Industries. Was educated in Australia and on his return worked with the Fiji Electricity Authority. He resigned to start his own farm. He is the chairman of FEA and has been member of various statutory boards. Stood for the Alliance in the April election and won.

Mr Gonelevu served as Adviser to the Governor-General on Transport and Civil Aviation and Minister for Primary Industries in the military government.

MR FILIPE BOLE, 50, (MA), is Minister for Education. He is a former Fiji Ambassador to the United Nations.

First appointed to Parliament in 1985 when he won the Lau/Rotuma Communal seat by-election, following the death of Mr Jonati Mavoa.

He was immediately appointed Minister Without Portfolio by Ratu Sir Kamisese and later Minister for Education. Stood for the same seat again in the April election and won.

He was appointed Adviser on Education to the Governor-General after the May 14 coup and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the dissolved military government.

MR JOSEFATA KAMIKAMICA, 54, (MA. Com.) is Minister for Finance and Economic Planning. Has had a successful stint in the civil service, working as an administrator and economist.

He was seconded to the Native Land Trust Board as its manager in 1972 and has been there since. He is chairman of the Fiji Pine Commission and the immediate past chairman of the National Bank of Fiji. Mr Kamikamica is a lay Methodist preacher.

RATU JOSIA TAVAIQIA, 57, is Minister for Forestry.

He was first appointed to the Senate in 1975. He was elected to Parliament in 1977. Ratu Josia was appointed Assistant Minister for Works and Tourism until September, 1977, when he became the first Minister for State for Forests.

He held the same portfolio as Adviser to the Governor-General and with the dissolved military government.

MR SAILOSI KEPA, 50, is Attorney-General and Minister of Justice graduated in law from Middle Temple in London.

A former school teacher, he has served as Chief Magistrate and Director for Public Prosecutions before he was appointed Fiji's High Commissioner to London in 1983. He has been there since. Mr Kepa is a former Fiji rugby international.

MR DAVID PICKERING, 54, an Engineer and Administrator, is Minister for Tourism, Civil Aviation and Energy.

He retired from the civil service in 1982 and took over as manager of the Fiji Electricity Authority.

He was first elected to Parliament on an Alliance ticket in April this year. Mr Pickering served as Minister for Tourism under the military government.

MR BERENADO VUNIBOBO, 55, is Minister for Trade and Commerce.

He is a former Permanent Secretary for Works and Fiji Ambassador to the United Nations. After his term with the UN, he retired and joined UNDP as one of its officers. He was stationed in many parts of the world and when he returned to Fiji two weeks ago he was based in Pakistan.

RATU WILLIAM TOGANIVALU, 59, (Cert. in Ag.) is Minister for Lands and Mineral Resources. He entered the Legislative Council in 1966. In 1971 he was appointed Assistant Minister for Lands and Mineral Resources. In 1972 he became Minister for Fijian Affairs. He has held other portfolios. He also became Minister for Home Affairs in 1982.

DR APENISA KURISAQILA, 55, (Cert. in Med. Surgery) is Minister for Health.

He retired from government service in 1979 to start his private practice in Nadi. He stood for the Alliance Party in the 1982 election and won his seat. He was appointed Minister for Health. He stood successfully for the same seat in the April election. He served as an Adviser for Health to the Governor-General and with the military government.

MR CHARLES WALKER, 59, (B.Sc) is Minister for Information.

He was first appointed a senator in 1973 and was first elected to Parliament in April 1977. After serving as Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries, he was appointed to the finance portfolio in 1979. He resigned as minister and was later re-appointed to the Primary Industries portfolio.

LT COL APOLOSI BIUVAKALOLOMA, 48, is Minister for Rural Development and Rural Housing. Has been a soldier all his life and rose through the ranks. He was in charge of the Army's Trade Training School and its rural unit.

MR TOMASI VAKATORA, 60, is Minister for Housing and Urban Development. He was first elected to parliament in 1977 and was Minister for Civil Aviation and Transport. After the 1982 election he was appointed Speaker of the House of Representatives, a post he held until April this year.

MR ISHWARI BAJPAI, 53, is Minister for Cooperatives and National Marketing Authority. A Suva businessman, Mr Bajpai was first elected to parliament in 1977 and served as Minister for State for Cooperatives. He unsuccessfully contested the April election on an Alliance ticket.

COL VATILIAI NAVUNISARAVI, 60, is Minister for Fijian Affairs.

Has served both in the military and in the civil service.

He is the immediate past Commissioner of Native Lands and Fisheries. Has wide experience in matters relating to native lands and customs.

MS FINAU TABAKAUCORO, 43, (BA) is Minister for Women's Affairs and Social Welfare. She has worked with the civil service, the United Nations and at present a lecturer in Social and Administrative Studies at the University of the South Pacific.

COL ILAISA KACISOLOMONE, 41, is Minister for Youth and Sports. He has been a soldier since he left school in 1965. He has served in both Sinai and Lebanon as commanding officer.

He was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel soon after the May 14 coup and was appointed Chief of Staff. After the second coup in September, Col. Kacisolomone was appointed Minister for Youth and Sports.

08309

Allegations of Corruption Reported

42000184a Suva *THE FIJI TIMES* in English
14 Dec 87 p 9

[Article by Josefa Dimuri: "Tora Orders Inquiry Into PWD Corruption Claim"]

[Text] A government inquiry has started into allegations of corruption and misuse of funds at the Public Works Department headquarters at Labasa.

Investigations would be immediately handed over to police if the allegations were found to contain some substance, the Minister for Works, Mr Apisai Tora confirmed last week.

The probe was ordered after a letter of complaint to the former head of government and commander of the security forces, Brigadier Sitiveni Rabuka, by a group of civil servants, unestablished employees of the Public Works Department and members of the public.

Copies of the letter dated November 19 were also delivered to Mr Tora and the secretary of the Public Service Commission, Mr Poseci Bune.

Mr Tora described the allegations to *The Fiji Times* as "very serious."

"We are not taking these things lightly and I have already ordered an immediate investigation into these allegations," said Mr Tora.

He said an internal departmental inquiry had already started headed by the acting Permanent Secretary for Works Mr Ramaiya Naidu.

"I have given a notation for an immediate inquiry soon after receiving the letter," he said.

"I will not hesitate but to hand over the case to the police if the allegations are found to be serious."

"But in such circumstances, we normally carry our own investigations first," he said.

But according to *Fiji Times* sources, the police have already started doing some ground work on the case.

A copy of the letter which was obtained by *The Fiji Times* questioned the criteria adopted by the office in the promotion and recruitment of unestablished employees.

It highlighted a case in which an ordinary clerk was promoted to training officer who has been running the administration side of the whole department. The letter claimed that the appointment had still not being gazetted. [as printed]

Misuse of funds, government plant and machinery by some senior civil servants in the department are also alleged.

The letter also claimed that a night watchman on government payroll was shifted from one of the job sites after the May 14 coup and engaged at a civil servant's private property in the town. He was shifted there after the military took over watch on the site.

Mr Tora said he had received a similar complaint against a senior civil servant in Labasa last year from a member of the public.

"But we found there was no foundation to the allegations after investigating," he said.

In a recent visit to Labasa, Brigadier Rabuka warned that he would not tolerate corruption in the Civil Service while he was in power.

He made the comment while speaking to heads of government departments at the office of the Commissioner Northern, Mr Inoke Tabualevu.

08309

Cabinet To Discuss Travel Restrictions

42000185b Suva *THE FIJI TIMES* in English
16 Dec 87 p 7

[Text] Restrictions on people wanting to go overseas are likely to be discussed when Cabinet meets for its first formal session in Suva tomorrow.

A Government spokesman said Cabinet had only met once since its appointment, but it was an informal gathering.

The spokesman was commenting on reports that people are still being stopped from leaving the country because their names are on a list prepared by the security forces.

A Suva lawyer, Mr Mohan Singh was stopped from leaving Nadi Airport on an Air Pacific flight to Sydney last Thursday.

He was on his way to be-admitted to the Australian Capital Territory Bar in Canberra and was to return home after his admission.

Mr Singh said he was about to board the flight when security men in plain clothes asked him to stand aside.

The plane left without him.

Mr Singh said he rang the Minister for Indian Affairs, Mrs Irene Jai Narayan, who promised to help him get on the flight the next day.

But the Minister for Indian Affairs could not help him, he said.

Government sources said yesterday Mr Singh's name was on a list of people restricted from travelling overseas.

The list was prepared by the army after the second coup.

Police and security men still had the list and were waiting for specific directions from the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Some people have been given clearances to travel overseas by the ministry, according to the sources.

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Mrs Narayan refused to comment when contacted at her office yesterday. 08309

ADB Loan for Road Maintenance Project

42000153g Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English
16 Dec 87 p 5

[Text] The Asian Development Bank recently approved a loan of \$150 million to Indonesia for the Ninth Road (Maintenance) Sector Project.

The loan comes from the bank's ordinary capital resources and the repayment period is 24 years, including a four-year grace period. The interest rate will be determined according to the Bank's pool-based variable lending rate system.

The Project is aimed at helping the Government maintain about 4,000 km of national and provincial roads and replace about 80 structurally weak bridges in 10 provinces on the islands of Java, Bali, Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi. In addition, the Project will provide institutional support to the executing agency, the Directorate General of Highways (DGH), to set up a comprehensive data base for bridges on all provincial and national roads and to establish the framework for a bridge management system. The project also includes the provision of management support to develop the domestic road construction industry.

08309

South Sumatra Provides Land for Plantations

42000153h Jakarta BUSINESS NEWS in English
16 Dec 87 p 10

[Text] The South Sumatra provincial administration has issued stipulations for the opening of new plantations on 117,466 ha of land in Bangka and Muara Enim regencies. Six companies have obtained permits for the planting of oil palm, hybrid coconut, cacao, fruits and rubber in the two regencies.

Around 50,000 ha of land in Bangka is provided for the planting of coconut by PT Sumarco Makmun Indah and 100 ha is entrusted to PT Pelita Karya Tani for the opening of a garlic plantation. Some 8,900 ha of land in Muara Enim is entrusted to PT Kali Madi Sari, which will grow hybrid coconut, cacao and fruits.

Some 6,000 ha of land is provided for the planting of oil palm under the PIRSUS (special nucleus estates for small holders) scheme. The project will be handled by PTP X, one of state-run plantation companies.

Around 50,000 ha out of the 117,466 ha of land is entrusted to PTP III, another state-run plantation company, for the planting of oil palm. Some 1,950 ha is provided for the planting of natural rubber by PTP XI, also a state-owned plantation company.

08309

Editorial Blames United States for Continued Subversion

42060009d Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in Lao 8 Oct 87 p 1

[Editorial: "We Must Be Highly Conscious and Alert To Dismantle the Psychological Warfare of the Enemies"]

[Text] The day when the nation was completely liberated and the LPDR was established on 2 December 1975 marked the beginning of our young socialist construction and the complete bankruptcy of the democracy and the old and new colonialism. Since that day socialism in Laos has been a target for destruction by the imperialists and powerful forces that are the enemies of Laos. They are always ready to destroy our new regime in many ways, socio-economically, politically, and militarily. They employ economic and political schemes, for example, bribing and poisoning our cadres, soldiers and multiethnic groups in order to make us change in peaceful ways, especially for the military forces and the people of ethnic groups along the northern and western borders of Laos.

In the past they put all of their might into dismantling us. Militarily they gathered those who had fled abroad to organize training and take care of them in various camps in Thailand, and then gave them weapons and sent them in to spy and create unrest for our multiethnic groups. In addition, the reactionary exiles who were hiding abroad and the underground reactionaries who had infiltrated and operated in the population bases in the district and mountainous areas tried to make them areas of active operations.

They attacked along communication routes on water and land and used small guerrilla forces to attack and destroy offices, organizations, local work units and important locations when we were careless.

Politically the American imperialists and the international reactionaries and their henchmen have increased the use of psychological warfare to cause us to change our ideology and revolutionary principles. They have carried out schemes to make us change by peaceful means to take away our essence, slandered the correct policy of the party and the government, propagandized and created unrest and fabricated big problems out of small ones, increased disunity between the army and the people, the higher echelons and the lower levels, and the cadres and combatants and international solidarity, and they have tried to bring about disunity in the special solidarity of Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries.

They use social and cultural aspects as important factors in attacking our revolutionary forces. They use the reactionaries to dismantle our people's collective production, such as agricultural cooperative units and others, by hoarding goods purposely in order to raise market prices and destroy the value of the kip. Socially they

hope to revive Western culture in big and small ways. They encourage gambling, prostitution, luxurious living, and superstition. In conclusion, they secretly operate to build a foundation among the people and look for ways to infiltrate the military forces so as to obtain national intelligence and to attempt to murder the leaders of the party and the government and our military cadres.

In examining these cruel and clever schemes of the enemies, we can see that some local work units still lack an awareness of the enemies' schemes.

Some of the cadres and combatants who were victims of psychological warfare and bribery have lost their essence, or even worse have fled to serve the enemies and have returned to work against the revolution. Therefore, in order to resist and to dismantle the psychological warfare of the enemies, our cadres, combatants and the people must absorb the direction and duty regarding national defense and security work set by the party. Cadres and party members at all levels and all combatants must clearly understand the dangerous schemes of the enemies. They must increase the guidance and training of the units so that they will absorb their national defense and security duty and have strong revolutionary principles, stop all the destructive schemes of the enemies, and firmly grasp political ideology and become strong in organizing and in bringing peace to the units and the population bases.

09884/06662

Foreign Aid, Experts Continue Role in Development Work

Vietnamese Experts in Bokeo Brick Plant

42060019 Vientiane PASASON in Lao 14 Nov 87 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Bokeo Provincial Brick Plant"]

[Excerpt] In implementing the 1987 plan, as well as the 9-month plan, the workers at the brick plant subordinate to the Bokeo provincial industry and handicrafts section have worked diligently and fulfilled the plan.

This brick plant was established at the end of January 1987. It is composed of two kilns and has a total of 19 workers, of whom 15 are directly engaged in production. It has received support from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which has sent five specialists to work at the plant. Initially, there were many difficulties in production, because the workers were not familiar with such work. The goods produced did not meet the standards. Later on, the workers came up with new ideas as a result of working, studying, and learning from the Vietnamese specialists. Even though they do not have modern equipment, they have succeeded in completely fulfilling the 9-month plan. That is, they have produced a total of 53,891 bricks, earning an income of 538,910 kip.

Vietnamese-Aided Army Barge

42060019 *Vientiane PASASON in Lao*
26 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Lao People's Army Builds Barge"]

[Text] The Technical General Department of the LPA has built two 60-ton barges with the support of the Vietnamese navy. It took more than a year to build these two boats. The shipyard of the Vietnamese navy was the contractor.

The successful construction of these barges was due to the all-round cooperation between the LPA and the Vietnamese navy. Such cooperation has existed for a long time and has increased effectively and continually. This success is dedicated to the coming 12th anniversary of the establishment of the LPDR.

The ceremony in which the Technical General Department of the LPA took possession of these boats from the shipyard of the Vietnamese navy took place on 21 November in Vientiane Capital.

EEC Help in Luang Prabang Development

42060019 *Vientiane PASASON in Lao* 25 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by Khaikao Khammani: "In 1987-1988, Luang Prabang Province Will Plant 800 Hectares"]

[Excerpts] In accord with the resolutions of the 4th Party Congress and the 1st Provincial Party Congress of the Provincial Organization, the province is striving for economic and societal development of the province and bring about a good change by 1990. The Provincial Party Standing Committee has agreed to establish a committee responsible for this project. This includes taking steps to stop forest destruction to create cropland and protect the environment. Mr Nanchoi Keophithoun, a member of the Provincial Party and Administrative Committees and the head of the Provincial Agricultural Section. He and a team of central-echelon and provincial cadres launched the project on 1 November 1987 to open up new land and build terraced fields. For the period 1987-1988, it is expected that 800 hectares will be reclaimed.

Along with implementing this project to open new land and build terraced fields, there is also a project to grow coffee and industrial crops and engage in intensive agriculture in order to stop the destruction of and restore the existing forests and increase the province's production of export goods.

As for cooperation in carrying out the work and supervising things, the central authorities have invested capital, and the province is implementing the project. Vientiane also inspects the work. The province is responsible

for the political life and livelihood of the central-echelon cadres sent to help carry out this project. The committee responsible for this project is under the direct guidance of the provincial party standing committee. It is also responsible for obtaining technical aid and foodstuffs from international organizations in order to ensure that the project achieves good results.

These projects have received support from the UN Development Program and the EEC through the National Mekong River Project, which is an important economic element of the country. In short, in Luang Prabang Province alone, the people's standard of living has improved continually because of this effort.

Swedish-Aided Vientiane School

42060019 *Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao*
17 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Construction on 12 General School Buildings in Vientiane Capital Has Been Completed"]

[Excerpt] At the 13 November meeting to summarize the results of the construction of general schools in Vientiane Capital, Mr Sai Phakasoum, a member of the party committee and the head of the Vientiane Capital Communications, Transportation, and Construction Sector, discussed the construction of general schools throughout Vientiane Capital as authorized by the Vientiane Capital party and administrative committees. He said that the plan for the 1987/1988 school year calls for the construction of 15 school buildings. During the period June-September 1987, 12 buildings were built. Each single-story building contains six classrooms.

The funds for building these school buildings has come from the budget of Vientiane Capital. In addition, SIDA [Swedish International Development Agency] has provided equipment, and the districts and parents have provided financial support. The cost of constructing these buildings has reached 35,977,411 kip. Of this, the various districts and parents have contributed more than 6 million kip.

In school year 1987/1988, there are a total of 113,160 general education students in Vientiane Capital. At the beginning of school year 1986/1987, there were a total of 16,066 students. The number of postsecondary school students has increased to 3,488 students. This has required an additional 426 classrooms in order to handle this many students.

At this meeting, Mr Sisavat Keobounphan, a member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and a chairman of the Vientiane Capital Administrative Committee, praised the achievements scored in constructing these school buildings.

Vientiane-Ho Chi Minh City Shipping Pact

42060019 Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao
17 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Joint Agreement on Shipping Goods Signed With Vietnamese Shipping Company"]

[Text] At the end of October, the head of the Vientiane Capital Construction and Freight Forwarding Company met with officials of VOSA (Vietnam Ocean Shipping Agency) in Ho Chi Minh City. The two sides agreed to cooperate in shipping exports and imports through the ports of Danang, Haiphong, and Ho Chi Minh City. As for the details, the two sides will sign a memorandum in Vientiane Capital in December. The company has already opened a branch office in Danang and is now engaged in facilitating the shipment of exports and imports to and from the LPDR through this port. As compared with cost of shipping goods through Thailand, this will reduce costs by about 50 percent.

The head of the Construction and Freight Forwarding Company also talked about the signing of an agreement on building a marble production plant. This agreement was signed in Ho Chi Minh City at the end of October. He said that this plant will be built in Vientiane. It is expected that construction on the plant will be completed in 1988. The plant will be capable of producing approximately 2,800 cubic meters of marble per year.

Sisavat Keobounphan Meets Hanoi Official

42060019 Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao
25 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Sisavat Keobounphan Welcomes Representatives of the Hanoi Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation"]

[Text] On the evening of 24 November at office of the Vientiane Capital Administrative Committee, Mr Sisavat Keobounphan, a member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and chairman of the Vientiane Capital Administrative Committee, welcomed a team of representatives from the Hanoi Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation, which was led by Mr Le Thanh Diem, the deputy head of the Hanoi Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation.

The meeting between the two sides was carried on in an atmosphere of friendship. Mr Sisavat Keobounphan praised their visit. This visit will strengthen solidarity, friendship, and cooperation between Vientiane and Hanoi. Concerning this visit, Mr Le Thanh Diem said that he had met with officials and inspected economic and cultural projects carried on jointly by Hanoi and Vientiane in 1987. The two sides also discussed joint plans for next year, particularly on the economic and cultural fronts.

Hanoi-Vientiane Economic, Cultural Agreement

42060019 Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao
25 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "Memorandum Signed on 1988 Economic and Cultural Cooperation Between Vientiane and Hanoi"]

[Text] On the morning of 24 November in Vientiane Capital, a ceremony was held to officially sign the memorandum on 1988 economic and cultural cooperation between Vientiane and Hanoi.

During the ceremony, Mr Sithon Sibounhuong, a member of the party standing committee and the head of the Vientiane Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation, and Mr Le Thanh Diem, the deputy head of the Hanoi Committee for Economic and Cultural Cooperation, signed the memorandum in the presence of many senior cadres.

The memorandum states that the two sides are in unity in drafting basic directions for economic and cultural cooperation in 1988. Better cooperation between Vientiane and Hanoi will gradually increase economic efficiency. Both sides totally agree that it is essential to improve and increase the efficiency of the joint projects already implemented. Joint action must be taken to complete those projects not yet completed. This will strengthen solidarity, friendship, and all-round cooperation between Vientiane and Hanoi.

That same morning, a ceremony was held to take possession of agricultural equipment donated to Vientiane by Hanoi. The equipment was turned over to members of the Vientiane committee for cooperation. The equipment included "Bong Sen 12" small tractors, rice mills, threshers, and other equipment. Altogether the equipment had a value of 800,000 kip.

11943

Refugee Describes Ex-King's Death in Prison Camp

42000196a Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English
13 Dec 87 pp 8, 9

[Article: "In Cold Blood—The Slow Death of the Last King of Laos and a Royal Family That Traced Its Ancestry Back 700 Years"]

[Text] A young Laotian swept up by mistake into a system of post-war brutality has solved the most intriguing mystery of communist Indochina: the fate of King Savang Vatthana, the queen and the crown prince. In a series of long interviews with our POST special correspondent, the former student, who escaped across the Mekong River into Thailand late last year, relived the nightmare of death and torture in a string of political

prisons that make up the Gulag of northeastern Laos. Now he has brought to the outside world, for the first time, a chilling personal account of what actually happened to the last king of Laos and his family.

"My king is dead," says the former student, who spent nearly 11 years in a series of political prisons where starvation, beatings and torture resulted in a death toll as high as 80 percent among some groups.

Crown Prince Say Vongsavang and the king died within 11 days of each other in May 1978. Queen Khamboui wasted away 3 and 1/2 years later.

The deaths of the last Laotian royal family members have long been a rumour. But as recently as last October, a communist official told a Western reporter that the family was well, and living in a villa with a small garden to tend.

The "villa" was a prison hut; the garden a series of rice fields which the king and crown prince worked 8 hours a day, 6 days a week under armed guard.

The report of the young escapee is confirmed by another ex-inmate of the string of political prisons which make up the Gulag of northeastern Laos. The two fled within a month of each other late last year. They had been released from the nameless prison camps to toil on a work gang.

Interviewed separately, each confirmed the dates and circumstances of the deaths of the royal family, as well as other details of the Gulag.

But it is the remarkable memory and attention to detail of the ex-student that has brought the story from Laos to the outside world. He has drawn maps, written a prison diary and consented to a lengthy series of interviews on condition that his name be withheld temporarily. He fears retaliation by "communist elements" in his refugee camp.

In this story, he will be called Tongpoon, a common Lao name.

He was swept into an 11-year nightmare when the communists were consolidating power in 1975. He witnessed the deaths of the beloved Laotian royal family, and dozens of other doomed citizens. Among them were many rightist military officers and politicians of the wartime days.

At least equalling their number, however, were the neutralists, who were "friends" and often relatives of the communists. The neutralists laboured for years to forge a workable coalition with the communists during the war. At its end, they were the first to be arrested, tortured and tossed into the Laotian Gulag to die or be killed.

"Gulag" is an apt description. Soviets flew the high-ranking prisoners to the prison camps, and Russian advisers design and direct the work projects to which prisoners are assigned as slave labour. Both Tongpoon and the escaped ex-major reported that small groups of Vietnamese advisers were frequent visitors to the prison camps themselves, although they had no direct contact with the inmates.

Tongpoon's story is remarkable—and believable—for a number of reasons. He has asked for no reward. He has made no incredible claims of seeing American prisoners or, for that matter, of knowing anything beyond the walls of the prisons in which he served nearly 11 years.

He is an earnest young man, who speaks usually without rancour of his fate. And this is his story, in part.

Tongpoon was in Vientiane to receive his baccalaureate degree in mid-1975. As he walked the street one day, student demonstrators passed by, their signs and slogans calling for communist victory.

When they spotted Tongpoon and two friends at the roadside, they urged the three to join the demonstration. Tongpoon demurred. A demonstrator thrust pictures of Marx and Lenin into his hands.

Tongpoon tore the pictures up.

For that, Tongpoon and his friends were immediately arrested, handcuffed and bound with rope. Pathet Lao (Communist) soldiers drove them to the security headquarters, the C-2 Police Station at the city's Wattay Airport, and tossed them in a cell.

During the next 20 months, there was not a day when Tongpoon was not tied. Often, he was bound hand and foot. Iron and wooden stocks were locked on his legs every night, and on most days he was both handcuffed and tied with rope around his wrists.

After 24 hours at the C-2 headquarters at Wattay, Tongpoon and his two friends were removed from their cell and flown by helicopter to the communist-run town of Viengsay. The helicopter pilots were a Russian and a Vietnamese.

Handcuffed still, he ate his first rice in 2 days with his hands, off a banana leaf. It was awkward, for the "Vietnamese handcuffs" allow no wrist movement. But it was a task at which he would become adept by necessity.

He learned that the Viengsay jail was only a way station for the hundreds of political prisoners being arrested as the Pathet Lao gradually took control of Laos. The "real" prisons were—and are—in remote Houaphan Province, the most northeastern part of Laos next door to Vietnam's fabled Dien Bien Phu battle site.

Far from prying eyes, Houaphan is the ideal location for a string of political prisons. The tiny population of perhaps 100,000 is dirt-poor and seldom travels to tell tales to the outside world. Escapes are difficult because of the distances involved.

Long before their final victory on 2 December 1975, the Pathet Lao had jailed "reactionary" opponents in Houaphan. By mid-1974, using prison labour, they had constructed the stockade they called, simply, Camp 01.

Tongpoon and the ex-major are the only two persons known to have escaped successfully after serving time in Camp 01. Neither knew the other had made it to safety.

In separate interviews, each has examined maps of Houaphan, which sometimes is also called Sam Neua after its chief town. Each has located Camp 01 in exactly the same place, 72 kilometres from Sam Neua towards Vietnam, within sight of National Highway 6, and just over a kilometre from the area's biggest village, Sop Hao, once a French military position.

An atlas pinpoints Camp 01: latitude 104 degrees, 23 minutes, 48 seconds; longitude 20 degrees, 33 minutes, 35 seconds.

The camp was constructed in classic Stalag style, except that in place of barbed wire fences, the Pathet Lao used sharpened, interwoven bamboo. The camp was entirely fenced, and the prisoner compound was inside a second, enclosed area.

Locked Up

For 20 months, until early 1977, Tongpoon was locked up in one of Camp 01's huts. On some days, he was unlocked from his leg stocks and led to work in the fields or on a road gang. For weeks at a time, he was kept locked up 24 hours a day. Being worked or fettered seemed to depend on the whim of the guards.

Food came twice a day to most prisoners (some did not eat at all, as punishment), late in the morning and again around 4 pm. Each meal was 200 grammes of rice, less than a cup. It was accompanied by half a teaspoon of salt. There were no vegetables and no meat.

The guards, with some glee, told Tongpoon that all prisoner rice came from warehouses and was at least 4 years old. Laotians call such food "rat rice," and termites and insects crawled freely through it.

In prison, food was a constant topic of discussions. Prisoners on work details crammed banana peels and papaya skins into their mouths and tried to imagine they were beef rolls. Tongpoon ate raw paddy rice often, pulling the unhusked grain from the stalk unripened.

On more than one occasion, a prisoner trapped and killed the burrowing rats who feasted on the bodies of prisoners dead and buried. The animals were skinned and cooked over the open fire, and eaten with gusto.

Tongpoon recalls that at the time, they tasted good.

Guards, meanwhile, were allotted 50 percent more rice per meal, along with vegetables and a wide variety of meat, often wild game but frequently a cat or dog. This repelled Tongpoon. Only Vietnamese and communists eat dog, he says.

Rice for the guards came from fresh stocks, usually from fields worked by the prisoners.

The prison uniform was a single pair of dark-red pajamas. A white diamond on the back identified the political prisoners. Each year, every prisoner was given a new uniform. No footwear was issued.

Tongpoon's fellow prisoners were, in the main, high-ranking officers, politicians and bureaucrats of the pre-war days, rightists and neutralists alike. There were no other young students like him, emphasising the Dreyfus-like quality of his arrest and incarceration.

Most of the prisoners were unsurprised at their own fates, but puzzled by Tongpoon's presence.

During his 20 months in the stocks, camp authorities made no charges against Tongpoon. He was never told why he was in prison, or how long he would stay there. He had no idea when—or if—he would taste freedom again.

Far to the south, Tongpoon's wife began a quest she would carry forward for nearly 11 years—the search for her husband. One of the first places Mengly visited was the security headquarters, the C-2 police station at Wattay Airport.

No, said the Pathet Lao there, they had no information on Tongpoon. Never heard of him, in fact.

Memorise

Tongpoon, who had torn up two pictures, had ceased to exist.

This is not just a figure of speech, as Tongpoon learned in his early days in Camp 01. For one of a prisoner's duties was to memorise the "17 Rules" which legalised brutality by the guards and in general formed the basis of prison life.

Rule No 1 told Tongpoon that his situation was hopeless. Had Mengly known of the 17 Rules, she, too, might have despaired.

"Anyone arrested by the people and the nation is relieved of all rights of citizenship," said Rule No 1. All residency records were considered destroyed.

Meanwhile, the Pathet Lao continued to tighten their grip.

A major problem was the royal family, beloved by most of the citizens and well-known abroad. During the war years, the Pathet Lao had pledged loyalty to the French-educated monarch, but upon victory had forced him to abdicate.

Despite this, King Savang Watthana was still a potent force in the lives of his 3.7 million subjects. Laotian royalty was unbroken back to at least the 14th century.

To the communists, the king who had assumed his throne in 1959 was a "reactionary," as was his intelligent and handsome son, the crown prince Say Vongsavang. The respect they commanded from Laotians and from other nations was a threat.

Thailand had centuries-old ties with the Lao royal family. A wife of King Chulalongkorn, was a daughter of the Laotian ruler of the day.

In short, public mistreatment of abdicated King Savang Watthana was out of the question.

Solution

The first step of the communist solution was to place the royal family under house arrest in the palace at Luang Prabang, the traditional royal capital northwest of Vientiane. No visitors were allowed, but word slipped out frequently that the family was alive, and relatively well-treated.

This stage of benign treatment ended on 11 March 1977. The family was arrested and whisked by the familiar Soviet-piloted helicopter to Viengsay, Tongpoon's stop-over of more than 19 months before.

Here, the king and his family were placed in the Number One Hotel and again put under house arrest. Communist cadres told Viengsay residents that it was necessary to protect the ex-monarch from "enemies" in Luang Prabang who were trying to kill him.

The final act in eliminating the royal family occurred 3 months later. Once again arrested, the family was placed aboard the helicopter and flown to Sam Neua town, and thrust into Camp 01.

Queen Khamboui was separated from the two men and put into the camp's women's section. Like most communists, the Pathet Lao enforced a puritanical ban on mixing of the sexes. In Camp 01, a prisoner who merely looked at a young woman would be punished by having his rations cut off for 3 days, or worse.

The royal family of Laos thus became, in September 1977, common political prisoners. They lived by the 17 Rules, and no longer existed. Not until the escape of Tongpoon and the former major did the outside world learn what had happened to the last king of Laos.

As the royal family was beginning its travail, Tongpoon's was taking a turn. His 20 months in the stocks ended suddenly and brutally in April 1977, when two guards awakened him. They bound and handcuffed him, and escorted the young man into the deserted woods several hundred metres from Camp 01.

Awaiting him was a Pathet Lao officer in full military uniform. He was clutching a file—the results, he said, of the investigation of the young man's case.

He ordered Tongpoon untied, and told him to pick up a shovel.

"Let's make a hole," he said. "Make it as big and as deep as you like."

Tongpoon dug a hole about 6 feet by 2, about 3 feet deep.

"Get in," said the communist officer. Tongpoon sat in the hole. His neck was at ground level.

"Fill in the hole," and the two guards quickly scooped the loose dirt in around Tongpoon. They buried the young man to his neck.

Then the "interrogation" began.

The officer wanted information, and Tongpoon helped him. Date of birth. Home village. Married status. Education.

"Are you a member of the CIA?" the officer asked. "I am not," said Tongpoon.

"Why are you against communism?"

"I like peace, not communism," replied the young man.

"Who is your chief?"

"I have no chief. There is only me."

The interrogator was especially interested in Tongpoon's studies in the English school of the Lao-American Association, which had branches in several Laotian towns, as well as in Vientiane. Tongpoon told him. He recalled his afternoon walks with his teachers, Mr Walker and Mr Repplier, trying to sharpen his spoken English. He held nothing back.

He was asked these questions, and answered them, many times. After the first time, interrogator and both guards picked up sticks, and began to beat his head as they listened to Tongpoon's responses.

"I am not CIA." Thwack.

"I have no chief." Bam.

"I like peace." Smack.

There was no sense of time after the first 30 minutes. After a while—an hour, or 6 hours of 12—Tongpoon could not see. The blood from his scalp ran into his eyes. Trapped in the hole, he could not wipe his eyes. Gradually, unconsciousness took him.

He awoke on his bamboo-leaf bed in the Camp 01 hut. His interrogation was over. It was the only questioning he ever had.

Four days later, he and 20 other prisoners were taken to court in a Sop Hao village auditorium. There were three judges—one was a prosecutor; one expanded the government's case, and the third passed sentence.

When Tongpoon's name was called, the court was informed he was a CIA agent who refused to confess. It took 30 seconds.

When all cases had been detailed, the third judge passed sentence. Each prisoner was told to acknowledge with one word: satisfied, or not satisfied. Two prisoners noted that they were unsatisfied and had 3 years added to their terms. They had failed to recognise the humanitarianism of the court.

Tongpoon was awarded 19 years. He said he was satisfied.

After 589 days in prison, he was officially a prisoner.

As for the royal family, everyone recognised theirs were life sentences, and no trials were held. The king and crown prince were given their own small prisoners' hut, and three men to cook their rations of rat rice and to dole out their half-teaspoon of salt. They were allowed little contact with other prisoners, but otherwise were treated the same. They slept on bamboo leaves and performed the same hard labour.

Rule No 9, after all, was specific. Able-bodied prisoners who did not work did not eat.

When he entered the political prison, King Savang Vatthana was 69 years old. He was educated at the Paris Ecole de Science Politique, was well-read and well-travelled. But he was hardly used to hard labour or a diet of less than two cups of rat rice a day served on a banana leaf.

His health began to deteriorate quickly. His son, always close to the king, insisted that the former monarch eat part of his own tiny ration. The king demurred, but the son pressed the food on the old man.

On 2 May 1978 the crown prince died. Strong and healthy when he was arrested from the palace 14 months before, he was unable to survive on the tiny rice-and-salt ration that he had cut into to help save his father.

The king was heart-broken. He had helped kill his offspring, he told the three cooks. They argued with him, but the king had effectively decided to die.

On 13 May, just 11 days later, the king lay down on his bed.

No Coffins

"I am going to sleep," he told his three attendants, who suspected the truth. "Now I give all my soul, my blood and my body to the fertile soil and beauty of Laos, and for the well-being of all the Lao people."

He slept, briefly, and died.

Within hours of the deaths of each man, the three cooks dug holes under the guns of the Pathet Lao and dumped the remains of the king and crown prince in the holes. There were no coffins; there was no ceremony. Only the cooks cried, for the guards were in a hurry to get back to camp and the evening meal.

Their bodies are at the base of a "kok leung" (yellow tree) 200 metres north of the Camp 01 perimeter along the small stream called Houy Nok Kokon detailed maps of the area. It is a tributary of the Houy Path River.

The king's body is on the north side of the majestic tree. The crown prince's is on the south side, along with that of the last commander of the Royal Lao Army, General Toonpone Makthephahak, who was starved to death when guards withheld his rations, on 1 July 1978.

None of the graves is marked.

Queen Khamboui knew that her husband and son had died, although she was not allowed at their quick burials. Tongpoon next saw her about 2 years later, and at first did not recognise the royal consort, who had become a heap of skin and bones. Her hair was completely grey. Her eyes were dead.

Tongpoon told another prisoner that night: The Queen of Laos has become the Queen of Prisoners.

The communists did not force her to work, and she managed to eke out extra life with the help of cigarettes and the semi-narcotic betel leaf. Her final humiliation came when guards cut off her cigarette supply. She died 12 December 1981. Her grave, about a kilometre from her men, is also unmarked.

There was little to distinguish time as it passed for Tongpoon. Years, months, weeks passed. Six days of labour, and then one day locked up so the guards could

have Sunday off. Tongpoon once asked a guard if the prisoners could have some recreation, and was told his sport was to work 8 hours a day.

Prisoners spent some off hours weaving rattan and bamboo items, and a crude barter system grew up with local villages. The unit of currency was a hat, and it was worth 200 grammes of rice. It took about a week for the average prisoner to make a hat.

Guards had doctors and hospitals, but prisoners had no medical facilities save local herbs and an occasional visit by a Pathet Lao army medic. Malaria, influenza and the common cold were all killers.

Tongpoon's chief souvenir of the Laotian Gulag is a missing tooth. He broke it off when he was unable to obtain treatment or pain killer for a toothache.

Then there was outright killing, like that of Touby Lyphung.

Touby was one of the best-known political prisoners. He was an intelligent and affable politician of the 1960s and early 1970s in Vientiane, and had served as minister of justice for a time.

He was a neutralist, and counted several of the leading communists of the Pathet Lao among his friends, as well as diplomats and newsmen based in Vientiane. The "friends" had ordered Touby's arrest as one of their first acts, and his sentence from the judge was for life in the camp.

Touby adapted poorly to the prisons. Added to the poor food and general brutality was the fact that as a "special prisoner" he was rarely allowed outside his hut. He became emaciated, pale, and aged quickly.

On the last Saturday of July 1979, as usual, the Pathet Lao guards opened the doors of the hut where Touby and other "special" prisoners were locked up. It was time for their weekly bathing session in the nearby Houy Nok Kok.

Chief of the guard detail this day was the much-feared Onkeow, the teenaged son of a local communist cadre. Onkeow, it was said, liked to beat prisoners, and he did so often.

Onkeow prodded Touby and the others from their hut to the stream at gunpoint as usual, watching them into the water to wash away the collected grime of a week. After a short time, he ordered them back to the bank.

Touby was too weak to pull himself up. In moments, all the prisoners but Touby were on the stream bank. Onkeow barked at him to hurry up. Touby lurched at the bank and fell back. Two guards laughed.

Touby struggled, and Onkeow yelled. Finally, trembling violently, Touby stopped at the water's edge, unmoving, his hands pressed to his stomach.

Onkeow raised his AK-47. "Do you want to die here?"

"I'd rather die here on the outside than in that prison," replied Touby. Without another word, Onkeow raised his rifle and shot the old politician dead.

Executions, often ordered secretly, were also violent. Without exception they were "death by the knife"—execution by bayonet. Execution could be ordered by almost anyone in authority—the court, the camp commander—even the guards. Rule 6: "No prisoner may wander more than 15 metres from a guard, or he may be shot without warning."

Prisoners seldom forgot this, because each Monday and Saturday they had to study and memorise the 17 Rules.

The 17 Rules also forbade any books or writing, although official spokesmen for the regime claim that the Laotian Gulag is a system of political re-education.

How many are in the Gulag, and how many have died, are unknown. Tongpoon observed up to 500 prisoners in the seven camps which he learned of. (An eighth is exclusively for back-sliding and corrupt communists.)

Of a single group of 40 high-ranking prisoners that Tongpoon watched, 26 died or were killed in Camp 01, and another eight perished in Camp 07. Six remained when he escaped.

From 1975 until July 1986, new arrests were made and new prisoners arrived regularly, without a noticeable hiatus. Use of the stocks, torture, starvation and execution continued.

Freedom

Tongpoon's first chance at freedom began to develop in mid-July 1986. The regime needed labourers on a dam project near Sam Neua town. Tongpoon was among 50 prisoners trucked to the site.

Security was far less strict. Prisoners were on a limited parole system.

Two days after he arrived at Sam Neua, Tongpoon strolled casually into the town's tiny telegraph office and sent his wife a wire, telling her where he was.

To the south, Mengly laughed and cried. Her husband was alive. All that needed doing was to rescue him.

A few days later, one of Tongpoon's old friends had the solution. He was a truck driver, who had plied the potholed Highway 6 to Sam Neua on several occasions, carrying food and household goods up and returning with animal bones and leather.

The friend forged an identity pass for a non-existent helper, and headed for Sam Neua. At the town, he unloaded, found the dam project and located Tongpoon. Hours later, Tongpoon hopped in the truck cab, pocketed the false pass and looked at freedom through the windshield.

The reunion with Mengly in his home town was brief. A few days later, he was across the Mekong River into Thailand. In the dead of night, Mengly followed.

The nightmare of 10 years, 11 months and 18 days was over.

Not, however, all the hardship. For now he is a refugee, and he will have a hard time searching for a new country. Despite what the communists thought, he has no special rights to go to the United States, for he had no connections to the Americans.

He speaks English and French, and is obviously intelligent. An earnest young man, he has been scarred and partly institutionalized by his experience. His eyes are old. His body is thin.

He still eats only twice a day. "Maybe when I can live with my wife again, I will eat more often."

For now, he just wants a country where he can live.

/79604

Army Paper Article Continues Discussion on Thai Border Issue

42060009c Vientiane KONGTHAP PASASON LAO in
Lao 1 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by S. Vongphouthon: "Who Does not Understand the Border?"]

[Text] There are probably none who like to use deceptive and distorted words, to make up hundreds of stories out of one, or to say one thing today and change the story tomorrow as much as the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords. It is difficult to understand why they are so deceptive. People who are sincere and have no intention to cheat will always adhere to an unchanging principle no matter what. However, only those dishonest people who always look for ways to cheat others will employ tricks and distort the truth like the old proverb: "A good man will correct himself, but a bad man will find excuses for himself."

With their bad habit of being provocative with neighboring countries regarding the border problem, in which they intend to encroach on fertile land or to rob valuable natural resources from neighboring countries to enrich themselves, the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords have planned to greedily take the territory of neighboring countries little by little, taking advantage of the neighboring countries and then swallowing them all according to the goal of expansionism and pan-Thaism.

We all remember well when the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords used military force to encroach upon the three Lao villages in Pak Lai District, Sayaboury Province, in mid-1984. They claimed that the three villages belonged to Thailand based on what they said was an "up-to-date" map. At that time the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords did away with much of the evidence, including the border markers in the area. They then refused to recognize the map that the Siamese Government had agreed to regarding the border between the French and Siamese governments, according to the agreement signed by both sides in 1904-1907.

Although the problem of the three villages has not yet been solved, the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords have created another Lao-Thai border problem in Bo Then District, Sayaboury Province, by sending in forces to guard a private Thai company illegally cutting down trees on Lao territory. When a clash occurred they sent in many battalions of Thai soldiers to support the forces in the area.

Lt Gen Siri Thivaphan, the Thai Third Region commander who had sent in the forces to guard the company in cutting down the trees, made an official statement on the 16th of last month, hoping to make the people misunderstand the LPDR by saying that "the Lao side misunderstands the border line...the Thai side uses the French-Siamese map, and the border line that the French and Siamese governments agreed to and signed was along the Nam Heung River. From the Nam Heung River the border runs along the Nam Heung Nga River until it meets the beginning of the Nam Heung Nga River on Miang Mountain."

The weekly magazine KHAO PHISIT dated 26 August-1 September 1987 noted the statement of Lt Gen Siri Thivaphan, the army commander, again: "These clashes are common and occur often, because the border is not the river and it is not precise, so that trespassing often occurs."

From the army commander's words we are immediately able to see that "it was those who did not understand the border" when the statement clearly indicated the conflict in the geographical points of view, if the border runs along the Nam Heung Nga River as their distorted words indicated. However, the site of the clash and the area

where they cut the trees down is below the head [gnot] of the Nam Heung Nga River. However, the army commander said that "it is not the border area formed by the river."

According to the accord and the map signed by the French and Siamese governments in 1907, "on the Luang Prabang side the border branches off the Mekong River in the south at the mouth of the Neung River and runs along the Heung River until it reaches the head of the stream that comes from Phou Miang Mountain. The border then continues along the ridge of Phou Pannam Mountain between the Mekong River and the Chao Phraya River until it reaches the Mekong River, where it is called Keng [rapids] Pha Dai."

Nam Neung Nga is a small creek which is a branch of the Heung River on the left, deep in Lao territory. Next to Houai Heung Nga Creek there are also the Neung Sai and Heung Panam creeks. The old people in Bo Ten District and also those who live along the length of the Neung River banks on both the Lao and Thai sides all well know that the Heung Gnai, Heung Thouam, and Heung Khao rivers all come from Phou Miang Mountain, where the local people call it "Phou An Khao." Actually, the Thai ultrarightist reactionary warlords know very well the facts about the border problem. But because their minds are so selfishly filled with the intention to greedily scoop up the natural resources of the LPDR to enrich themselves, they do not think about either the trouble for the owners of the country or of the Lao and Thai people who have a life and death interest that depends on the Heung River.

That is why they cut down a lot of the trees in the area.

We should note the case of the violation by coming in to cut the trees on land that belongs to Laos. The special news magazine said that "three roads were cut going up to Phou Miang Noi Mountain. If the purpose of the roads is to haul the logs, they will be beyond the approved area. Could it be possible that the tree cutting was done in the area outside of the project because there are only hill farms in the area? There are no big trees to be cut down. It is only when you go up to the mountain next to the border that there would be trees for them to cut."

The Thai Third Region army officials obtain great benefits by working with the private lumber capitalists. The special news journal reported that "many companies had applied to cut trees in this border area, but approval was given to only one company. The owner of that company is close to the former Third Region Army commander, Lt Gen Thiap Komsuriyasak, and Tysoon Wichai is well-known in the company that obtained the approval."

Because they only cared about making money in the hundreds of thousands and not about the hundreds of thousands of people in the cities, the Thai ultrarightist

reactionary warlords worked in collaboration with the private capitalist in cutting down trees and destroying the forest above the water area, and trespassing further into Lao territory shamelessly. On confronting and clashing with the people in Bo Then District, the owners of the locality, they excused themselves by saying that the border was not really clear-cut. Their excuse was only a trick used by gangsters, or what the Bo Then senior residents in the district often call "horrible men."

09884/06662

Thai Sources on PAVN, LPA Border Deployments

42070062 Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai
20 Nov 87 pp 1, 16

[Excerpt] Regarding the situation along the Thai-Lao border, Maj Gen Narutdon Detchapradit, the secretary of the army, said that recently, elements of the Lao 2d Division were transferred from Nan District in Luang Prabang Province to Ban Na Kop and Ban Sang in Bo Ten District, Sayaboury Province, in order to support LPA and PAVN operations along the Thai-Lao border opposite Chat Trakan District in Phitsanulok Province and Na Hao District in Loei Province.

Besides this, preparations are being made to transfer forces from the Ken Thao District Military Headquarters to reinforce the forces stationed along the Thai border opposite Tha Li District in Loei Province. Lao officials are still sending military forces to plant mines in the Heuang River area east of Ban Rom Klao in Chat Trakan District. Vietnamese soldiers continue to conduct joint operations with the Lao forces to eliminate the antigovernment resistance forces in the Pak Sekham and Phu Xiang Khong areas opposite Khemmarat District and Pho Sai Branch District in Ubon Ratchathani Province. Recently, there have been clashes between Thai officials and Lao forces in Chat Trakan and Buia districts, Nan Province. Besides this, the enemy continues to cross the border and attack Thai bases in Chat Trakan District.

11943

Route 9 Importance, Construction Progress

42000196h Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English
14 Dec 87 p 2

[Excerpts] Savanakheth—Every Laotian knows this road. For the people of this poor land-locked country, Highway 9, running 245 kilometres from here to Danang in Vietnam, it is a lifeline to the world market.

In 1980, Laos requested help from communist countries to reconstruct the road.

The highway starts at Kankabao harbour, off the Mekong river in Suvannakhet Province, and ends at the Vietnamese port of Danang 245 km away.

The 210 km land road is being built with Soviet aid, while Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are helping to build the bridges.

Construction chief Ku Charwong and engineer Pradit Saengsatid said they hope to complete construction by the end of next year.

At present, however, they are adjusting the surface of the route, which is still mainly laterite.

Estimated cost of the planned asphalt highway is \$250,000 per kilometre, or \$61.25 million for the whole route.

Once completed, about 1,000 vehicles will use the highway each day, though at present half that number are already using the rough laterite road.

There is also a plan to up-grade the route to a concrete highway if Laotian development should so require in the future.

Mr Pradit says Highway 9 is also giving Laos an opportunity to train manpower with 762 engineering students working on the project, learning from communist bloc experts.

With Vientiane's present attempt to court and appease Bangkok, Mr Ku and Mr Pradit, as well as everyone else, downplayed the strategic importance of Highway 9.

But one of the main reasons for constructing the route is to lessen Laos's dependence on Thailand.

Initially, Laos hoped Thailand would help build Route 9, Laotian officials claim. Some asphalt and cement which Vientiane ordered for construction is still in Bangkok's Klong Toey harbour, they say.

Mr Ku says the highway will not mean Laos will start depending on Vietnam more.

"We will still have to depend on Klong Toey and when we benefit from Vietnam it will not mean that we will not see the importance of developing relations with Thailand," Mr Ku said.

79604

Defense Cooperation With Indonesia Strengthened
42130049 Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in
Malay 4 Dec 87 p 8

[Article by Aziz Ishak]

[Text] The 16th conference of the Malaysia-Indonesia General Border Committee (GBC), which will be held in Kuala Lumpur on Monday (7 December), is expected to open a new era of more sound and positive friendly relations between the two countries. The 1-day meeting will help to delineate the great hope of forming true united defense cooperation between them to make sure that the Southeast Asian region continues to be "clear" of any threats.

It is anticipated that the two Chairmen, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, minister of defense, and Tan Sri L.B. Moerdani, commander of the Indonesian armed forces, will achieve agreement toward increased cooperation on security with economic cooperation overtones.

Last year the GBC's 15th conference agreed to take joint action to control security interests in the Melaka Strait waters. The scope of this cooperation will be expanded this time.

The Monday meeting will call attention to a socio-economic development program for Sarawak and West Kalimantan which will benefit the people of these two areas greatly.

A GBC officer reported that Sarawak State will be proclaimed a totally "white" region within 2 years in view of the successful military cooperation achieved by the two countries in fighting the communists on the Sarawak-West Kalimantan border. At the same time, a socio-economic development program will be implemented in that region to connect Entekong (in Kalimantan) and Tebedu (in Sarawak), in line with the development security concept (konsep keselamatan pembangunan—KASBAN). It is understood that \$75 million [Malaysian dollars] have been allocated for this development program which includes building the Entekong-Tebedu connector road.

"This is a product of GBC cooperation which offers great advantages for the security and the economies of the two countries. Also, Indonesia has begun to act on this program in Kalimantan to speed up two-way economic activities," the officer added. Indirectly, the Kuching International Airport will become an important jumping off place for commercial activities and will open up opportunities in the state to other activities such as tourism.

In a meeting, Lieutenant General Jaafar Mohamad, chief of staff for operations of the Malaysian Armed Forces [Angkatan Tentara Malaysia—ATM], also reported that the ATM was satisfied with the cooperation achieved in

the fight against communist terrorists on the Kalimantan-Sarawak border. The general, who also is a committee chairman for the GBC planning staff, said that the cooperation of the two military forces had paralyzed the communist terrorists, namely, those in the North Kalimantan Communist Party.

Recently, he said, Indonesian military troops had captured 11 terrorists belonging to that party and had turned them over to the Malaysian authorities because all of them were people from this country.

According to Lt Gen Jaafar, it has been found that there are only 43 of these communist terrorists now in the party's Second Bureau.

He called attention to the fact that while security in Sarawak had been restored, the ATM will continue to strengthen its military forces in these regions.

Of interest in the 16th conference is that the Malaysia-Indonesia defense cooperation plan for the decade of the 1990's is more dynamic to conform to military developments in this region.

This was confirmed by a senior officer in the Ministry of Defense who said Malaysia and Indonesia together will face any threat to security for their joint interests and for this region.

"We shall discuss this matter and shall seek agreement to expand defense cooperation between the two countries," he remarked.

As an initial step, the officer said, the ATM and the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces Agreed to hold a large-scale combat exercise in 1988.

"Delegations from both countries will decide a number of questions about this plan. The combat exercise will open a new era in the history of security cooperation because this is the first time Malaysia is to hold such an exercise with another country," the officer explained.

He said the exercise will involve the three branches of service to give them practice in combat procedures that would be used jointly if there were a threat from anyone.

Indirectly, the increased cooperation and understanding between Malaysia and Indonesia offers a reminder to those who might try to act "maliciously" against the security interests of this region.

Clearly, although Malaysia executes a policy of not readily trusting any nation, Indonesia now definitely has become its closest friend, and this is something to be proud of.

It is understood that the ATM and the ABRI have achieved considerable knowledge of joint air, sea and land exercise procedures, including search and residue

(SAR) operations. "A knowledge of military exercise procedures is important if we want to act jointly when the situation demands it. For that reason, we are increasing our knowledge of military procedures and doctrines as a whole," the ATM officer added when he was asked for his views on military strategy.

Several senior officers such as former ATM commanders, Gen (retired) Tan Sri Ghazali Che Mat and Gen (retired) Tan Sri Ghazali Mohd. Seth, are proud of what the Malaysia-Indonesia GBC has achieved at this stage. This is clear from the greater scope of cooperation between the two countries which initially was restricted to military cooperation in fighting against communist terrorists on the borders of the two countries.

In 1984, the level of cooperation was expanded to include the territorial waters of the two countries, especially for the security of the Melaka Strait.

From time to time, joint exercises had been arranged such as those against smuggling, illegal immigrants and criminals and for joint intelligence. Meanwhile, the GBC secretariat reported that the agenda for discussion will include the approval of a new committee, operational questions, socio-economic development of the frontier, and the exchange of intelligence.

Other work, such as the entry of illegal immigrants and work on surveying the border of the two countries, will not be discussed in this meeting.

Nevertheless, a GBC officer reported that these matters might be discussed informally.

It is understood that there were few problems in the Malaysia-Indonesia GBC conferences of the past in view of the spirit of compromise that was displayed by the two countries who come from Malay stock.

The Indonesian delegation, consisting of 24 senior officers, will arrive tomorrow. The Malaysian delegation this time consists of 19 persons.

Malaysian delegates include Gen Tan Sri Hashim Ali, commander of the Armed Forces, Tan Sri Haniff Omar, chief of the State Police, Tan Sri Mohd. Yusof Abdul Rahman, chief secretary of the Ministry of Defense, Tan Sri Zainal Abidin Sulong, chief secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tan Sri Azizan Zainul Abidin, chief secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Dr Baharon Azhar Raffei, secretary of the National Security Council, and Lt Gen Datuk Jaafar Mohamad, chief of staff for Operations of the ATM.

The Indonesian delegation includes Lt Gen of the Police M. Sanusi, Lt Gen, TNI [Tentara Nasional Indonesia—Indonesian National Army], L.B. Sudjann, Major Gen, TNI, M.I. Soetaryo, and Maj Gen, TNI, Moechtar.

It is certain that both Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen and Gen Tan Sri Moerdani along with their crews will carry out this important task for the welfare of the people of both countries and for the security of this region.

06804/7310

Decision To Hold Joint Military Exercise With Indonesia Announced

42130054c Kuala Lumpur *UTUSAN MALAYSIA* in Malay 8 Dec 87 p 1

[Article by Mohd. Noor Che Mat]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 7 December—Malaysia and Indonesia today agreed to hold a large-scale military exercise early next year to reinforce the defense strategy for these shores.

The exercise, which will involve the three branches of the military forces and police troops, is planned to be held close to Sabah and Sarawak waters. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, minister of defense, said the agreement was achieved at the 16th conference of the Malaysia-Indonesia General Border Committee (GBC) held here this morning.

At a news conference held here, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen, who also is a joint chairman of the GBC, reported that a special committee had been formed to devise a concept for the exercise, including the forces to be involved, selection of a region that suits the exercise scenario, aid for the operation as well as other plans. Meanwhile, General Tan Sri L.B. Moerdani, the other joint chairman of the GBC, who also is the commander of the Republic of Indonesia Armed Forces [Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia—ABRI], said crises in the Southeast Asia region make us feel far from secure and tranquil and demand greater defense capability.

"When we look at relations between nations of this world now, where the only conflicts are those between neighboring countries, what we have achieved to date is invaluable friendship," he explained.

The GBC conference is an annual conference held to allow the two sides to exchange information and make joint defense plans, particularly for the Malaysian-Indonesian border regions.

The Malaysian delegation included General Tan Sri Hashim Ali, commander of the Armed Forces, Tan Sri Haniff Omar, head of the National Police Force, and heads of the secretariats of the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Gen Tan Sri Moerdani, ABRI commander, headed the 17-man delegation from the Republic of Indonesia.

This time the GBC conference also formed a special joint body called the "Committee for Coordinating Regional Operations." It replaces the "Staff for Coordinating Operational Planning."

Earlier, when he officially opened the conference, Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen said defense cooperation between Malaysia and Indonesia had to be heightened to ensure this region's stability following the crises and threats that developed here recently.

According to the Tengku, cooperation through the GBC had allowed the two countries to solve various problems and to respond to threats that arose mainly in border regions. "These cooperative activities have helped to improve our knowledge of procedures and communications and have given us the self-confidence to act against joint enemies," he explained.

Regarding threats in the Melaka Strait, Tengku Rithauddeen said foreign reconnaissance ships, disguised as sailing vessels, in that strait were controlled jointly. We also make coordinated patrols of these waters and exchange intelligence.

Gen Tan Sri Moerdani also reminded the audience that the success achieved at this time should not let us relax our current level of vigilance.

"We cannot be too rapidly satisfied with what has been achieved when developments in the Southeast Asian region require vigilance as well as greater knowledge and joint preparedness," he explained.

The waters of the Melaka Strait now, he explained, are more and more frequently being plied by foreign merchant and war ships, and this has an adverse impact from the standpoint of the defense of Malaysia and Indonesia.

06804/7310

Commentary On Mahathir's Political Leadership Problems

42130054a Kuala Lumpur UTUSAN MALAYSIA in Malay 7 Dec 87 p 8

[Article by Chamil Wariya]

[Text] Preface: Last night MINGGUAN MALAYSIA published an article on the dilemma in Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's political leadership. Following is an article contributed by a writer who presents his view of internal factors that influenced his leadership.—Editor.

There were various reactions to Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's approval of the police's arrest under the Internal Security Act (ISA) of more than 100 persons believed to have jeopardized national security. Some felt Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir had the right idea, but some criticized him.

Tunku Abdul Rahman, former prime minister, was quoted by foreign newspapers as saying these actions had threatened the Malaysian parliamentary system. Most of the Western papers said, "Malaysia is moving toward a dictatorship."

However, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir corrected this erroneous impression in an interview which was published widely in, among other papers, THE TIMES of London on 7 November 1987 and subsequently by Indonesian newspapers on 9 November and in an issue of MINGGUAN ASIAWEEK, published in November.

In that interview, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir explained, among other things, that the step he had taken did not mean that democracy was dead in Malaysia and that the Malaysian parliamentary system was still functioning well. Rather, he felt Malaysia was more secure and tranquil after those arrests. His belief was reinforced by the fact that foreign investors continued to report their investments in this country after this happened. Included were Shell, which reported an investment of almost \$200 million [Malaysian dollars] for an oil refinery in Port Dickson; American electronics companies reported investments of almost \$300 million up to 1990; and Sony, an investment of \$40 million. Arab traders also showed confidence in Malaysia when a group reported the organization of a company with a capitalization of \$250 million after a seminar held in Kuala Lumpur in November. If they had not had confidence in Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's leadership and the country's stability, which he promised, these investors, of course, would not have come to this country.

These developments reflect the continued confidence of foreigners in the leadership of Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir. Perhaps if there had been no economic recession which caused the national income to drop to where it impaired the government's capability to share the national wealth—in the form of contracts, projects and tenders for businessmen, higher wages and allowances for civil servants—the prime minister's aspirations for this country perhaps could have been carried out more easily.

But when this phenomenon occurred, along with the institution of the privatization policy and the government's disposition to administer the country solely on the basis of profit and loss in business, his leadership was ridiculed by leaders in his own party, and, therefore, he lost half of the support of its members. The situation was aggravated by the fact that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir administered the nation at the end of the New Economic Policy [NEP], the implementation of which was interrupted by the recession.

He was troubled by his own dissatisfaction because the NEP target of controlling 30 percent of the economic activities by 1990 would not be achieved. Also non-Malays who benefited from the NEP were dissatisfied because they felt they would definitely have achieved more in the economic field if they had not been

obstructed by the NEP which they alleged favored the bumiputera. For this reason, they pressed the government to end the NEP in 1990. To back up their pressure, they called attention to the promise of equal rights contained in the Constitution—which clearly demonstrated that the non-Malay generation of the Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir administrative era rejected the independence compromise which was based on the sovereignty of the Malays.

They became braver in their fight for what they felt were their true rights because they interpreted the failure of Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir to obtain the support of the UMNO [United Malays National Organization] as a sign that the Malay leaders were weak now and were ineffective.

However, with the 28 October arrests, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir proved that this view was not 100 percent correct. He demonstrated that his patience had limits. Unfortunately, his firm action, while it surprised most of the Malaysian people, did not make others happy.

For Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir, this was a leadership dilemma. When he tried to be liberal and democratic by allowing groups in the community to criticize the government and express views that sounded as though people wanted to disregard the government's orders and he did nothing, his leadership was said to be cautious and lack firmness. When he firmly called a halt to intemperate debate linked to racism, religion, and so on, for national security reasons, he was accused of trying to kill democracy and of no longer being liberal.

But some political analysts, who felt Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's leadership was damaged by factors outside his control, were not so rigid about pressing him to obtain the united support of the UMNO.

This group felt that if, when he took over the national leadership in 1981, he had said publicly who they had selected for the number two post in the government, the contest for the post of UMNO deputy president could have been avoided. However, by permitting it to continue because he wanted to prove that the person for the number two post in the party was democratic, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir actually opened the door to further censure of the UMNO leadership. This is why he was opposed on 24 April 1987 and why he lost half of his support in the party.

However, because Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir did not display firmness in keeping Tengku Razaleigh from opposing Datuk Musa for the first time (in 1981) and the second time (in 1984), indirectly it meant that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir had not allowed traditional UMNO methods for selecting the number one and two positions to be buried without further ado.

But some said Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir could not be blamed for the contest between Ku Li and Musa. Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir, this group said, in the 1984 race had directly and indirectly asked Ku Li to respect party traditions, but he paid no attention to his request.

Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir, they said, of course, could not eliminate Ku Li from the contest because party democracy sanctioned him to compete, and Mahathir also did not want to be accused of leading the UMNO autocratically. As one who had strongly criticized Tunku's leadership, which caused him at one time to be removed from the UMNO, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir knows the meaning of freedom. Therefore, he is democratic although recently his own leadership has been censured. What happened on 24 April, according to some political observers, would not have happened if Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir had not been the president of the UMNO because UMNO presidents preceding him displayed firmness when facing internal opposition to their leadership early on before it became a threatening force.

Tunku did this when he confronted Aziz Ishak and Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir himself as did Tun Hussein Onn, who bravely purged Dato' Harin Idris, who was very popular in the party at that time. But under Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir there have been no purges or dismissals. Is this a sign that his leadership is democratic and liberal or is he a leader who is cautious and lacks firmness, depending on who looks at him?

To Lead or To Be Led

Admittedly, external factors, such as the economic recession, have helped to sow the seeds of dissatisfaction with the leadership of Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir. As a result he is surrounded more by those who oppose him than by those who support him. However, external factors are not the only factors that caused Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's popularity to drop and his "power base" in the UMNO to grow smaller. His leadership style since he became the prime minister also plays a role. As prime minister, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir is unlike those who preceded him who were prepared to become popular by following directions or by serving the popular will. Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir is not like that. He is famous for being a leader who thinks for himself and makes his own decisions.

He also is known to be a person who acts in his own way. He is not easily provoked and he follows the wishes of no particular side. For him, to be a leader of an organization is to lead, not to be led.

He expressed this view when he took over the positions of UMNO president and prime minister from Tun Hussein in 1981. At that time he said he had become president of the UMNO to lead and not to be led. What he has tried to do since 1981 is to set forth many of the ideas he had before taking power and then obtain agreement on them from the party congress. He first reports on any changes and then informs the party congress.

He only seeks the support of his party when he is presented with a problem such as the amendment to the 1983 Constitution which was aimed at reclarifying the definition of a raja constitutionally and parliamentary democracy.

Because of this, statements made by a number of members have given the impression that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir has turned his back on the party with his behavior.

To statements like these, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir has responded that he will do what he should do and will not do what anyone else orders him to do.

At the time, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's attitude and bravery in stating his views frankly was surprising and was praised, but his style of leadership made others angry and made them flee from supporting him.

But Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir did not care. He had informed them that he was not diplomatic and he did not know how to use words to make himself popular. If he did not agree with something, he would say so.

Although Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir became a prime minister with his own image, he initially tried to satisfy everyone by announcing attractive policies and ones that had never been made before.

This included the policies of liberal, efficient, clean and honest; adoption of Islamic values, leadership by setting an example, elimination of bribes, and so on. For some political observers, this was his first "mistake" because in his effort to satisfy everyone, he actually satisfied no one. On the other hand, he also was opposed because what he wanted to do was interpreted differently by those who were attracted to him. Those who wanted to see a clean, efficient and honest administration found that not many changes were made in the way bureaucracies served the public. Some of them did not blame Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir because to change moldy, old values to new, more progressive and innovative values took time. The people expected changes to be made in the blink of an eye. This, of course, is ridiculous. Those who expected Islamic values to be adopted progressively also were hurt because they saw no radical changes. They talked about creating an Islamic nation with an Islamic constitution and laws.

Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir stressed Islamic values such as honesty, hard work, trustworthiness, and so on rather than the creation of Islamic institutions such as the Islamic Bank, the International Islamic University, and TAKAFUL [expansion not found]. The same was true for pressure groups who found Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's liberal policies were not what they understood Western liberalism to be.

They also ultimately opposed Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir and saw him as being no different from earlier leaders. Civil servants in the general sector also, other than being

hurt because they did not receive a wage adjustment, began to grumble about Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's efforts to discipline them with time cards to be punched when arriving and leaving the office.

Under Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir also, important institutions such as the Economic Planning Unit played a smaller role. The formation of the Malaysian International and Strategic Studies Institute (ISIS) took over many of the roles of a number of institutions in the general sector.

This was outside the party. In the party itself, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir also showed that he did not want machines like the congress or the highest councils to make party policy. This would restrict his freedom to make changes.

He was not afraid to offer positions in the party leadership (and government) to new persons if he felt they were qualified and could be trusted to make a success of his programs and visions for the country.

With this as a background, he brought Mr Anwar Ibrahim and Mr Daim Zainuddin into the UMNO and the government and started them in important senior ministries. This also made others feel a little angry with Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir.

But Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir did not tell the whole story. What was important to him was that it was better for Mr Anwar to be in the UMNO and in the government because if the former leader of the ABIM [Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia—Malaysian Islamic Youth Force] remained outside the party, he could create problems.

Mr Anwar's joining the party was seen by many as Mahathir's biggest success because he coaxed Mr Anwar to join the UMNO when he was also being courted by the PAS [Parti Islam se-Malaysia—Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party].

From one aspect, Mr Anwar's joining the party should not have been an issue because other UMNO leaders had urged him to join the UMNO earlier. Tun Razak was said to have done this by offering him a seat in Parliament and earlier as the government's delegate to the World Agriculture Organization.

However, at that time Mr Anwar refused and preferred to play the role of a critic of the government, and in 1974 he was arrested for this under the ISA. At that time, Mr Anwar perhaps felt that it would be better if he opposed the government because he did not agree with many of the government's policies which he alleged were corrupt, unjust and oppressive.

Also, if he joined the UMNO, he would not be able to make changes because he had not been promised a position in the government. He saw how Datuk Sri Sanusi Junid, who had joined the UMNO and became a

member of Parliament in 1974, was forced to participate in a training system or apprenticeship in the UMNO before being given a position.

In view of these developments, he perhaps was not interested in joining the UMNO because he was concerned that he would become one of those individuals who were being inculcated with the UMNO culture at that time.

However, it was a different situation under Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir. Mr Anwar saw that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir was someone who could appoint him to the position he wanted because as president of the UMNO and as the prime minister, Mahathir had the power to offer positions to those who had faith in him.

After seeing Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's sincerity in executing liberal policies and an open government and in freeing ISA prisoners as well as in his emphatic opposition to bribery and in his commitment to Islam, Mr Anwar felt that the time had come for him to end his role as head of a pressure group and to join the UMNO and the government. He made this decision in 1982. In a short while, without serving an apprenticeship as other junior UMNO leaders before him had been forced to do, Anwar was given a seat in Parliament. After the election victory, he became a deputy minister, and more than a year later, he became a full minister. Actually, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir had done nothing unusual. Prime ministers who preceded him had done the same thing. Tun Hussein Onn, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, all of them, became full ministers without serving as apprentices in the UMNO.

Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir knew the ramifications of Mr Anwar's joining the UMNO. However, because he was prepared to be unpopular, he took the responsibility as well as the risk, including that of losing support.

After bringing Anwar into the government, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir appointed as full minister another public figure with whom he was close. He was Mr Daim Zainuddin, a millionaire and a successful Malay businessman, who became minister of finance in 1984, replacing Tengku Razaleigh. This makes it clear that Mahathir showed resolve in bringing new men into the government to aid him in carrying out his programs. Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's decisions were aimed at strengthening the position of the government and party with qualified men. This was misinterpreted by a number of people who earlier had supported him.

They viewed these acts as attempts by Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir to set them aside. They gained this impression, if true, when they saw that important responsibilities such as the organization of the Islamic Bank, the Islamic University and so on were divided among public figures in whom Mahathir had great confidence.

When the cabinet was reorganized, these individuals were appointed to important ministries. There were allegations that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's leadership style was exclusive, only open to certain individuals. Then there were other allegations that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir was biased. They used the selection of these individuals to oppose Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir, as was evident in the election of 24 April 1987.

If this was the case, with Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir heading a faction in the party with which he could defend his office, UMNO members lost a place to which they could turn when they were faced with a problem. Incredibly, it was mainly those who opposed Mahathir who had to turn to him. If this was the case, then what Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir did could easily be misinterpreted.

When he gave positions in the government solely to individuals who had supported him, his leadership was accused of having lost the elements of *kebapaan* [fatherliness], and he became merely the head of his faction.

Also this situation reportedly continued to alienate Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir from party members who had opposed him earlier. However, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's problem was that if he gave positions to individuals who did not agree with his line of action, he ultimately would be stabbed in the back by them as had happened earlier.

There no longer is any doubt that when Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir installed Tengku Razaleigh in the cabinet after he lost in 1984, for the second time, the race for deputy president, even though he was opposed by Datuk Musa, Mahathir's goal was to unite the party. He took this step because he saw that Ku Li, although defeated, still had the support of almost half of the membership. Of course, he could not just ignore Ku Li.

But this step was also misinterpreted by Musa's supporters: they thought Ku Li was installed as a minister, not because this would unite the party but for Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's own political interest which was to counterpoise Musa's position, which without Ku Li perhaps would threaten Mahathir's own position in the end.

Then Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir was accused of operating under a divide and rule policy vis-a-vis Musa and Tengku Razaleigh. Both of these individuals had gathered forces to oppose Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir.

After this experience, Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir perhaps was aware of how important it was for him to give positions in the government to UMNO members who did not share his views but who would not be interested in using such positions to build opposing factions.

However, this decision also created problems for Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir's leadership because he had been repudiated by qualified UMNO leading figures who no longer were on his side.

Everything he did gives the impression that Datuk Sri Dr Mahathir wanted to be a leader who leads and not one who is led.

06804/7310

More SDP Leaders Quit, Join UMNO

42130054b Kuala Lumpur BERITA HARIAN in Malay
7 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] Ipoh, Sunday [6 December]—Twenty more Malay leaders of the SDP branches in this state have left the party while four branches were dissolved when all of their Malay members left the party last night to join the UMNO [United Malays National Organization].

Mr Abu Samah Majid, former deputy president of the SDP, who attended the resignation ceremony for eight of the chairmen, said they signed resignation letters last night.

"The rest of those who came to meet me last night will sign their resignation letters tomorrow," he said.

Mr Abu Damah Majid, who was the spokesman for the group, said they declared that they were joining the UMNO.

According to him, the four branches that were dissolved were Pengkalan Pegoh which was headed by Haji Mohd. Nor bin Haji Mohamdd, Kuala Dipang headed by Mr Hassan bin Idris Sauk, Kuala Kangsar headed by Mat Yunos bin Abdul Munir, and Pangkalan Baru, Gopeng, headed by Mr Mohd. Yusof Maya.

Mr Abu Samah said these branches had more than 300 members.

Among the leaders of the branches who signed resignation letters last night were Mr Zainuddin bin Itam Abdul Samad [of Troso, Sungai Siput], Mr Sulaiman bin Buyong (of Chemor), Mr Mohamad Nasir Haji Nordin (secretary of the Tanjung Rambutan Branch), and Jamaludin bin Haji Mohamad (secretary of the Pasir Puteh Branch).

A leader at the state level who resigned was Mr Jamali Haji Mohamad, Perak's assistant secretary for publicity.

Last Friday [4 December], Mr Abu Samah and three leaders at the central level in this state were among 161 members who decided to leave the party to join the UMNO.

Mr Abu Samah said he and several former party leaders would visit all branches in this country that had Malay members to present their reasons for leaving the party.

06804/7310

Niue Expatriates Protest French Technology Aid, Cite Colonial Policies

42000195 Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD
in English 15 Dec 87 p 9

[Text] A French offer to equip Niue with high-tech telephones is running into fallout from expatriate islanders in New Zealand.

The French are offering to spend \$800,000 to bring the tiny island nation into the satellite communications era, but the Niue People Action Party says they are just trying to buy friendship in the Pacific.

Accepting the offer would give the appearance of accepting many of the bad things done in French Polynesia, the party claims in an open letter.

In particular it mentions French nuclear testing and France's refusal to grant independence to the indigenous people of French Polynesia.

Accepted

However, the Premier of Niue since it gained independence from New Zealand in 1974, Sir Robert Rex, has apparently already accepted the French offer.

The Niue consular officer in Auckland, Mr Ikipa Tongatule, said that French technicians had begun preliminary work on the project.

The aid offer was announced after a visit to Niue in August by the French Secretary of State for the South Pacific, Mr Gaston Flosse.

Until then France had only ever given small amounts of aid such as books and education material, channelled through the South Pacific Commission, Mr Tongatule said.

Aid

And that is the way the action party would like it to stay.

The Auckland chairwoman of the party, Mrs Lilly Jackson, asked: "How long has France been in the Pacific and never looked at Niue until now?"

"We must try and stop the French getting in, but most of the people still living on Niue don't know what is going on."

Dust

She believed the majority of Niueans would want to stay with New Zealand rather than rock the boat by accepting French aid.

This year New Zealand is providing Niue with \$8.5 million in aid. The island's total budget is \$12 million.

Niue is also receiving help from the United States to improve its roads.

This programme will seal the most dangerous sections of the country's clay roads and also the roads through the 12 villages to reduce the dust.

The chairwoman of the New Zealand branch of the action party, Mrs Ema Rowland, said the average Niuean was not aware of the deep feeling many of their Pacific neighbours held against the French.

"They feel that any aid is a good thing.

"We feel it is the party's duty to inform the people of the possible consequences."

Petition

"We feel Sir Robert Rex made a terrible mistake in seeking friendship with the French in view of New Zealand's attitude towards them and their bombs."

In an attempt to force a change of heart by the Niuean Government, the action party has begun circulating a petition among expatriate Niueans in New Zealand.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said there was no official concern in New Zealand about the French aid.

The head of the Pacific section of the ministry's aid division, Mr Warren Searell, said that if the Niuean expatriates wanted to change the view of their Government back home, it would be up to them to do so.

"If they were to do something like accepting military aid from Libya, we would be concerned," Mr Searell said.

"But in this case there is no question of us coming down heavy. The Cook Islands has already accepted substantial French aid to repair hurricane damage."

Last year the Niuean Government ratified the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty.

Street Demonstrations, Internal Dissension Viewed at NZLP Conference

42000206 Sydney TRIBUNE in English 16 Dec 87 p 6

[Article by Peter McPhee: "Divisions Erupt at NZ Labour Party Conference"]

[Text] A group of unemployed youth had to battle with police as they tried to demonstrate outside the New Zealand Labour Party conference in November.

There were five arrests. Sympathetic delegates to the conference joined the demonstration and heckled senior cabinet ministers; other delegates shouted abuse back at the protesters.

Inside the meeting, there was similar rancour. Many delegates refused to give David Lange the traditional standing ovation for the party leader, and the conference turned into a four-day attack on the government.

What caused all this anger? Isn't this the government which has earned respect for the way it has stood up to the US?

Basic to the divisions which erupted at the Labour conference is the economic strategy the Lange government has pursued since being elected in 1984.

Known popularly as Rogernomics, the strategy is the brainchild of the Finance Minister, Roger Douglas. It was Douglas who was the particular focus of hostility at the conference.

He and other senior ministers have pushed through the most radical economic reshaping in NZ's history. However, it is a radicalism of the right, of the so-called free market.

They have argued that only the removal of internal and external barriers to "free enterprise" and initiative can encourage or force NZ to trade its way out of indebtedness.

Restrictions removed

The Lange government has accordingly removed all restrictions on foreign exchange dealings and banking, resulting in a hothouse speculative financial atmosphere (some of the "big boys" are active here, too: Judge, Hawkins, Brierley, Renouf).

It removed, almost overnight, all subsidies for primary industry, causing a rash of bankruptcies of small farmers and a consolidation of landholdings by insurance companies and multinational corporations. Wellington and Auckland are a yuppie paradise, but provincial NZ has taken a battering.

Manufacturing, too, has been expected to sink or swim, and 20,000 jobs have been lost in that sector alone this year. Unemployment is now 100,000, about the Australian level, and rapidly rising. Maoris and women have particularly suffered.

Government assets have been sold off, and major public enterprises (forestry, coal mining, gas, transport, telecommunications) have been turned into autonomous corporations expected to run like the private sector, making profits and shedding "excess" labor.

The latest example is the Post Office: 432 small branches, about one-third of the total, are to close with the loss of 1,200 jobs.

Finally, arguing that progressive income taxes depress initiative, the government slashed tax rates and shifted revenue raising to a uniform goods and services tax of 10 percent which, like any consumption tax, has hit the poor hardest.

Inflation is now running at 18 percent, first mortgage interest rates are as high as 28 percent, and real wages have declined by 20 percent since 1982.

Anger and division

This background explains the anger and division at the Labour Party conference.

The conference took a number of steps to try to force cabinet to pursue social democrat objectives.

They elected as party president Rex Jones, a prominent trade unionist who has been openly critical of government policies and used his election speech to launch a broadside against Rogernomics. Key positions on the executive were also given to leftwingers, who now control the party machinery.

Most importantly, a "Tony Benn" motion was passed requiring that any policy remits (resolutions) given a two-thirds majority by future conferences must automatically become part of the party's election manifesto. This is in reaction to the introduction of Rogernomics, which had not been part of Labour's 1984 election manifesto.

A battle is looming.

On one side, the left is stronger at the organisational level of the party and has been encouraged by the election to parliament earlier this year of several leading trade unionists, notably women, who represent a type of socialist left within caucus.

On the other, Lange, Douglas and their allies deride what they call the "bumper sticker" mentality and have made it plain that they will ignore conference remits which contradict their own agenda.

Like Hawke, Keating, Button and the rest, Lange's inner circle is personally and ideologically far more at ease with their "great mates" in the business sector. They loathe the left.

Lange has recently sought to placate the left by opening diplomatic relations with Nicaragua and setting up an inquiry into pornography, but has made it plain there is to be no retreat from the brave new world of Rogernomics.

This is one reason why Lange and Hawke got on so well during the latter's visit to NZ in late November. Another is that Lange increasingly shares Douglas' vision of a free trans-Tasman market, quiescent unions, a lean public sector, and a buoyant speculative capitalism.

Ironically, the election of Rex Jones as president of the Labour Party shows the weakness of the rank-and-file challenge to Lange. As secretary of the Engineers Union, Jones has become notorious for his behind the scenes deals with management, his hostility to leftwing unions, and the lack of democracy in his own unions.

He will make all the right-sounding noises, but will deflect popular discontent within the party into "responsible" debate.

In the end, the Lange government has set back the labor movement many decades in NZ, and there is not a lot loyal party members can do about it.

/09599

Maori Group Links Ethnic Issues With Nuclear Concerns

42000170 Sydney *TRIBUNE* in English
25 Nov 87 pp 8-9

[Article by Stephen Long; first two paragraphs published in italics]

[Text] Nerissa Te Patu, a Maori woman, and Marie Laufiso, a Samoan-born activist, are members of Te Whanau Matariki, a group of indigenous women and men in Aotearoa working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (NFIP).

For Marie, Nerissa and their peoples "independent" and "nuclear free" are indivisible terms and goals. Matariki's baseline is independence for the peoples of Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the Pacific, for indigenous peoples to retain control of their lands, seas and cultural traditions. Stephen Long spoke to them for *Tribune* when they visited Australia as guests of the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition.

When peace activists come together in Australia—as they did at Alice Springs in October—you're likely to see more than a few car bumper stickers and T-shirts with slogans praising New Zealand's anti-warships stand.

Marie and Nerissa were surprised to find that their country is held up as something of a beacon by the Australian peace movement.

"From our perspective," Marie says, "there's been very little progress in Aotearoa. Lange's stand was a response to years of hard work from the peace movement and it's only public support for the policy that stops him from balking at it. He would compromise it if he could."

"For indigenous people living under the Lange government, there has been even less progress. The warships policy isn't based in ideology or awareness: you would never see the Lange government draw the links between the nuclear cycle and colonisation. We have to live with the effects of colonisation every day."

"The government's latest catch-phrase is 'bi-culturalism.' The term itself suggests a sharing of powers between white and Maori, but in practice (like our 'multiculturalism,' it usually means little more than warm feelings and platitudes."

Like Aboriginal people in Australia, Aotearoa's Maori and Islander population experiences a sorry legacy of colonial exploitation: dispossession from their land and culture, exposure to the nuclear cycle, and injustice at the hands of European "education" and law.

Working, through the NFIP movement, with indigenous women and Maori youth, Marie and Nerissa have seen some of the worst effects of that exploitation—and growing resistance to it.

Young people, in particular, have experienced a strong sense of alienation and loss of identity.

"Many have responded by forming gangs—the Black Powers, the Mongrel Mobs, Highway 51. Some of these gangs have been politically active—they were involved in the Springbok tour protests. Others are just trying to figure out who they are, working among their own people for survival.

Women have been at the forefront of anti-nuclear and independence struggles in Aotearoa, and, says, Nerissa, the experience of working with women has been encouraging.

"Women are the oppressed of the oppressed, so their understanding of struggle is a lot broader than that of most men. A lot of the most effective work, too, has come from women.

"Of course we encounter sexism within our own culture, but a lot of that stems back to colonisation. The role of women was more important within Maori tribes 150 years ago. But colonisation brought with it the sexual division of labor, christianity, alcohol, and violence.

"But our struggle is overcoming that. Women are growing closer to women, learning how to support each other and actually trying to redefine their role as women. At the same time some Maori men are beginning to look at the issues of culture and sexism, and how they relate together.

"White people in Aotearoa—even among the peace movement and sections of the left—have been less willing to re-evaluate their own culture.

"Much of the white peace movement sees the anti-nuclear struggle as a single issue," says Marie. "For us, it's one aspect of 400 years of colonisation.

"Many white activists have a very short lifetime within the struggle," comments Nerissa. "Others seem to treat it like a hobby, an intellectual commitment. They can do a little then return to the material comforts of a comfortable home.

"Most Blacks don't have those options. And to me, political commitment doesn't work like that—you can't just turn it on and off again."

Through NFIP and Corso, a New Zealand aid and development agency, Marie and Nerissa have been forging links with the white left, and promoting awareness of colonisation issues among white people. But ultimately they say, whiteness must take the responsibility for educating themselves.

"I came to politics by exploring my culture and history and how it relates to indigenous people today. White people, too, have to look at their history, and accept the role that their culture has played in oppressing indigenous people and causing the mess all peoples are facing today," says Marie.

Redressing the balance

"We're not asking them to wallow in guilt and despair. Our philosophy is that there has to be hope for non-indigenous people too. We're not just redressing the balance of history, but working for a new order that's better for all peoples."

"It makes me laugh the way white people are taking up consensus, as if it's something new. That sort of decision making comes natural in our societies."

"White people can learn a lot from indigenous cultures—about relations to the land, and interpersonal relationships. We can look to the past to salvage what's good, reject what's not, and find a new way.

How confident are they that radical change is possible?

"Our own experience shouldn't make us optimistic, but always, you have to maintain the hope that more non-indigenous people will join the struggle for real change. As indigenous people, we've got no choice but to carry on—we're fighting for survival."

08309

Ramos, UP Audience Discuss National Security Affairs

420002046 *Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English* 16 Dec 87 pp 12-17

[Article by Benjamin Pimentel, Jr.: "What's Happening To Our Country, General?"; passages in italics or all caps as published]

[Text] A big poster greeted the General as he entered the Faculty Center Conference Hall at the University of the Philippines in Diliman. Emblazoned in big black letters on a large piece of Manila paper was a sign that read: "THIS IS AN INSTITUTION OF FREE EXPRESSION, NOT REPRESSION. MILITARY KEEP OUT (unless invited)."

The reception, as the General described it, was "torrid." Indeed, it was sweltering inside the jam-packed Conference Hall despite the newly-installed air-conditioners and the downpour outside. Moderator Randy David, UP professor and TV talk show host, had to apologize for the "sauna-like" condition in the hall.

But the General must have been pleased as punch by the time he left the Diliman campus. He had scored significant public relations points among the UP intelligentsia, and could even claim to have swept a number of students off their feet. A young coed, a columnist reported, found the General "cute." Coed the coed: "He seems like a nice guy."

The event that elicited these adjectives was the appearance of Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel "Eddie" Ramos at the regular "Academe Meets Government" series of the state university's Third World Studies Center.

It was valiant of the General to accept the invitation. After all, the military "invasion" of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP) campus and the attempted assassination of PUP president Nemesio Prudente were still fresh in the minds of a traditionally critical and vocal UP community. The Leyte refugees whom the military had accused of being NPAs had been transferred to the UP campus after the second raid on PUP.

The General began his talk with some recollections of his own stint at the state university. He had gone to the College of Law but had never received his degree. It seemed to be his way of saying, "Hey, I'm one of you. I'm part of the family."

Randy David mentioned the names of other prominent figures in Philippine politics who had studied at the nation's premier university: Nur Misuari, leader of the Moro National Liberation Front; Jose Ma. Sison, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines;

Ferdinand Marcos, deposed dictator. David added that Rafael Baylosis, currently alleged to be secretary-general of the CPP, was even a research assistant of the Third World Studies Center.

The General tried to give humor a try. "Like old soldiers," he said, "old professors are not supposed to fade away, because they are not supposed to lose their faculties."

Part of the audience burst into laughter, others into hoots and catcalls. I think the General meant "not supposed to die," because Douglas MacArthur's famous farewell statement was: "Old soldiers never die, they just fade away." Nice try, Eddie.

The General smiled at his own joke, then proceeded with his talk on the national security situation.

We do not see any threat from any external source," he began. "If there is any at all, at most it is potential."

As for the internal threats, the General listed three major groups: Communists, Moro secessionists, and ultra-rightists. He named the CPP and its military arm, the New People's Army, as the "most potent threat to our national security."

According to AFP estimates, the CPP-NPA has 23,200 armed regulars with 12,000 firearms. They are deployed in 60 of the country's 73 provinces and are active in some 20 percent of 42,000 barangays nationwide.

"The Communists Terrorists—or CTs, as we call them—were involved in 2,600 violent incidents from January 1 to October 31 of this year."

The General listed the number of casualties as follows: 572 soldiers; 189 policemen; 207 members of the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF); 825 civilians, including 55 government officials, mostly at the barangay level; and 1,328 CTs, with some 308 NPAs captured.

In 1985, the average daily occurrence of violent incidents was 13.1. This, the General said, dropped to 8.09 in 1986. However, in the first nine months of 1987, the number has increased to 8.50.

In 1985, the average daily fatalities were 13.1. This went down to 8.8 in 1986. This year the number is at 10.3.

The government, the General said, enjoys a favorable advantage in the casualty ratio with the NPA: roughly 3 to 4.

"The CPP-NPA continues to impose its progressive taxation or PT scheme, which is actually extortion. The estimated annual collection in the Philippines during the last two years is some P150 million.

"The main targets of this fund-raising campaign are the big agro-industrial firms, mining companies, fishponds and plantation operators. However, even our ordinary citizens, the little people in our society, have not been spared from this extortion.

"Abroad, the CPP-NPA also raises funds through its solidarity work, particularly in Europe. Last year, a conservative estimate of total financial support for the CPP-NPA was placed at 2.5 million dollars. This year, it is believed to have increased to an estimated 3 million dollars.

The General went on to reveal that the CPP-NPA and the National Democratic Front (NDF) have a six-year plan that began in 1986 and which "apparently coincides with President [Corazon] Aquino's six-year term." The plot is supposed to be divided into three two-year phases. Phase One is "the assignment of CPP-NPA and NDF elements to key positions in different government departments." Phase Two involves the "infiltration of sensitive positions in the different departments." The final phase is "the choosing of an NDF candidate for the presidential elections in 1992."

The entire plan is "now in the later stages of Phase One, which is the placement of key people in the bureaucracy," said the General.

"The CPP-NPA will continue to exploit the prevailing situation by intensifying tactical operations, urban terrorism and mass movements. They will seize any opportunity to weaken the AFP and the government. The CPP-NPA will also give emphasis to armed operations that have political, psychological and economic impact and which will disrupt the AFP's own tactical operations. They are expected to advance their mass struggles by capitalizing on the current political and economic problems.

"Increased CPP-NPA operations after the 28 August coup attempt, especially in the Bicol region, were designed to project an image of strength and elevate the Party's struggle to the next higher level. However, the CPP-NPA is not capable of engaging government forces in sustained armed confrontations."

The next "threat group," according to the General, is the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). The AFP estimates the total strength of all armed Moro groups to be at 19,800 regulars with 10,600 firearms. Of this number, 15,930 belong to the Nur Misuari faction, which the General called the "main faction." Misuari's group has 7,600 firearms and operates mostly in Western Mindanao.

The next major Moro group is the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), led by Hashim Salamat. According to AFP estimates, the MILF has 3,300 men with 2,500 firearms. It is active in Region 12.

The smallest group is the MNLF-Reformist Group led by Dimas Pundato. It has 540 men in the Lanao provinces, with about 480 firearms.

"The MNLF has reverted to its original demand of secession, allegedly due to the refusal of the government to implement the Tripoli Accord without any plebiscite. The MNLF has reportedly applied for regular membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference, or OIC, apparently to gain diplomatic leverage during the peace talks and to assume a stronger belligerency status.

"The representatives of the three MNLF factions have rejected the new autonomy proposal of the Aquino government. They have warned that hostilities are likely to be resumed by them in Mindanao, if the government refuses to honor the 1976 Tripoli Agreement.

"They have also proposed to Nur Misuari the establishment of a Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Bangsa Moro. This may ultimately mean the setting up of a quasi-government in the Minsupala (Mindanao-Sulu-Palawan) region. If this proposal is approved by the three factions, it will be relayed to the quadri-partite commission of the OIC scheduled to meet this December and to its regular meeting in January next year."

At this time, said the General, there is an "impasse" in the situation in Southern Philippines. He ascribed this to "the refusal of the MNLF to conform to the constitutional process of granting autonomy, which is a specific procedure in our new Constitution."

The General cited "ultra-rightist groups" as the "third major and immediate threat to our national security."

"The ultra-rightists have continued to demonstrate their unwavering stance to destabilize and topple the present government. These groups can be classified into those who are still bent on working for the deposed president; the disgruntled military elements led by renegade Colonel Gregorio Honasan and ex-Major Reynaldo Cabaatuan; and the reactionary forces which have manifested tendencies to adhere to extra-legal means in trying to overthrow the Aquino government. They are motivated by economic and political interests."

He revealed reports that attempts were being made by the Honasan and pro-Marcos groups to unite in a "grand rightist conspiracy to topple the government and replace it with a civilian-military junta."

The General then talked about the need for a "total approach and a total strategy" in the counter-insurgency campaign.

"Eradicating insurgency is like eliminating cogon grass in a farmland. Cutting the grass or burning it may clear the field for a while. But with the first drop of rain, the

weeds will be back. The best way to get rid of the cogon is to dig out the roots. Although this would entail back-breaking work, it has to be done.

"In like manner, the problem of insurgency, in the view of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, will not be solved by victories in the field or by merely eliminating or capturing rebel leaders. The insurgency necessitates a holistic approach."

Such an "integrated approach" would require "a sincere examination of the complex forces of insurgency, the analysis of the social, economic, political and military root causes of dissidence," said the General. "These are the most difficult tasks in counter-insurgency. Pulling the trigger is one of the easier ones."

The General enumerated five major factors that give rise to insurgency: (1) fear or the lack of security; (2) poverty; (3) ignorance; (4) injustice; and (5) graft and corruption.

Their conditions, he said, should be countered with: (1) security; (2) economic development; (3) education; (4) reawakening of moral and spiritual values against injustice; and (5) good government.

He did not mention foreign control of the economy, or the presence of foreign military bases, or landlordism in the countryside, despite the fact that the literature of the insurgency consistently refers to Philippine society as "semi-colonial and semi-feudal."

The General pointed to the National Reconciliation and Development Commission (NRDC) as an institution that plays a vital role in solving the insurgency problem. The NRDC administers programs to attract rebels to return to the fold.

The General referred to two "basic come-ons" in the NRDC program. The first "package of attraction" comes from the AFP itself. A loan of about P9,000, which is half of the estimated value of an M-16 rifle, is given to every surrenderee.

"It is called loan but it is really payment for the turning in of the firearm. It is a loan with the M-16 as collateral. The guy who gets the loan never repays the P9,000, so the government never returns the collateral," the General quipped.

Pretty smart, huh?

"The other half of the payment for the firearm consists of non-military inputs such as vocational training, agricultural training, farm animals, seedlings, fertilizers and, if it is feasible in the area, even a piece of land or a garden or even a residential lot.

"Through this program, the government expects to attract some 5,000 armed rebel returnees every year who will turn in 5,000 firearms. However, inasmuch as this is

really a new concept and a new program that has not yet seeped in thoroughly in the rural countryside, we are a little short in our expectation insofar as the number of regular NPAs who have surrendered are concerned. We have, however, been able to attract the so-called mass base, those who are only sympathizers or supporters of the CPP-NPA."

According to the General, 5,000 regular NPA guerrillas, 5,000 CPP-NPA activists and 44,900 mass supporters have taken advantage of the government rebel surrenderee program.

"If we fail in this task," the General affirmed, "the roots will thrive and the grass will surely grow again someday, sometime, somewhere, perhaps to finally overcome or dominate the flatlands."

The first reactor was political science professor Felipe Miranda, who has conducted studies on the Philippine military. He is also a member of the Social Weather Station, which analyzes trends in public opinion on various current issues.

Professor Miranda cited certain statistics on public perceptions of the military. The most interesting finding he brought out was the belief of almost half of respondents in a survey that the military is a threat to the present system. Another 20 plus percent, Miranda added, are undecided about the matter.

On public perceptions of the United States, Miranda revealed:

"As much as one-third of Metro Manilans believe that the United States would have some complicity in coup-making activities in this country. We have caught a vital statistic which has interested the American Embassy no end. For the first time in the five years that we have been conducting these tests, Filipinos, at least in Metro Manila, no longer trust the Americans as much as they used to.

"It had always been the case up to September 1987, that people always said that the American government's intentions for Filipinos would be, by and large, good for Filipinos. This attitude was never that of the majority. But the plurality, about 40 to 45 percent, had always been for this view. In September 1987, the plurality was for an attitude of distrust in the American government's intentions."

Miranda then asked about the "process of collaboration" between American and Filipino authorities in intelligence work.

On the assistance that US personnel provide in the counter-insurgency campaign, the General asserted, "There are no US counter-insurgency trainers in the Philippines."

That was almost like saying that Marcos had won the snap elections, and it was met by jeers and hoots from the crowd. But the catcalls did not deter the General from affirming further, "We feel we are better than them in counter-insurgency. We have the capability to deal with our problems."

After all, the Yanks screwed up Vietnam, didn't they?

Professor Miranda raised the curious point that, despite a decrease in sympathy for the CPP-NPA, there has been an increase in underground activities such as military offensives and fund-raising.

Raising this same point, Professor Carolina Hernandez, also of the UP political science department and a noted analyst of the AFP, remarked: "These developments would indicate one of two things. The CPP-NPA probably think that the insurgency has reached a level of strategic stalemate with government, therefore, they can do the things that they are doing now. Or, they are probably losing mass support."

On the issue of US intervention, Professor Hernandez's proposal that the country's mutual defense agreement with the United States be abrogated was met with resounding applause. "The US presence," said Hernandez, "complicates our insurgency problem. This has been manifested in the recent attack against American personnel at Clark and the NDF threats against American supporters of the Aquino government."

Hernandez noted that "we have a much more highly-educated, highly-informed military, who feel that they can take over the functions of the civilian government." She cited the military expansion which began in 1972 and the breakdown of civilian political institutions that used to have control powers over the military as factors for the "breach of the principle of civilian supremacy over the military."

P.N. Abinales of the Third World Studies Center commented, "We have to disabuse ourselves of the illusion that the military can be forced to return to its earlier [role as] an obedient robot who, like the horsemen in 'The Charge of the Light Brigade,' do not question why, but just follow orders and die. What we have now is a military capable of articulating comprehensive political views, perhaps better than a lot of university professors, defending its corporate interests with élan, believing in its administrative capability beyond its normally defined role and having its own sense of social vision."

"The issue now," Professor Hernandez observed, "is how to restore civilian supremacy, which is the key to the harnessing of the military for constitutional democracy. One of the key points here is the reeducation and reorientation of the soldier. In this regard, it is not the rank-and-file alone who should be subjected to training but also the officer corps. Because of the hierarchical

structure of the military, it would facilitate their reorientation and reeducation if the officer corps would be the key targets, since they are going to impose the discipline and give the commands."

But civilian authority, she added, has also contributed to the deprofessionalization of the military. She cited the problems that the AFP encountered in the past in dealing with the Commission on Appointments "which had the tendency to manipulate the military officers up for promotion." Said Hernandez: "The flexing of the muscle of the Commission on Appointments that I have been seeing lately is a matter of serious concern. I hope our legislators who are in that commission will take seriously some lessons from the past."

The lady professor also criticized the formation of vigilante groups as "short-sighted and very near-term," citing the "tendency to fanaticism of some of the people involved." She asked: "Do they [vigilantes] have the capacity for discipline and reason discernment? Do they know the law? If the peace and order problem abates, can we dismantle the vigilantes, seeing that we have not even dismantled the CHDF as mandated in the Constitution, or the private armies of politicians?"

UP student council chairman David Celdran, for his part, denounced the "increasing militarization of our society, the increasing repression we are feeling even inside the campuses."

"Is total strategy," he asked, "just a euphemism for total repression?"

Celdran then presented the General with a proposal, an AFP-UP Student Council Accord, which will guarantee "freedom from unwarranted military interference and intrusion on the campuses." The proposed accord, apparently a reaction to the PUP incident, is similar to the Ministry of National Defense-Students Accord signed in 1980 and unilaterally rescinded by then Defense Chief Juan Ponce Enrile in 1985.

In the UP Student Council proposal the military may not enter the campus (it is not clear if this means just the UP campus or all campuses, as provided for in the 1980 Agreement) "unless with the approval of the duly-recognized student representative body and school administration."

To the proposal, the General replied, "Give us a little time to study this. But let me add one more thing which I consider desirable and which I will include in this accord—we will coordinate first with the president of the University of the Philippines before any action of this nature is taken. That is not listed among your conditions."

The General seemed to be saying: I'm more radical than you, kid. Actually, the UP president is covered by the clause "duly-recognized school administration."

"At least I should have one *palakpakan* from the UP President," cracked the General. UP president Jose Abueva, with the help of the audience, humored the General.

"But I'd like to say this to student council chairman Dave Celdran," the General continued. "I do hope that your perceptions of the AFP, as well as of the insurgency problem, are not based primarily on the situations and incidents that have taken place at the PUP. That is not typical of AFP policy. It is not really what we are trying to achieve toward better civilian-military relations. Perhaps it was also not a very good public relations effort. But we must look at this in its entire context. We must remember that in Metro Manila 128 police officers and military men have been assassinated this year. I leave it at that."

The General ended his talk with an affirmation of the AFP's thrust next year.

"The primary effort in 1988 will still be the destruction or the neutralization of the armed enemy. This, ladies and gentlemen, is not search-and-destroy, US-style. This campaign is addressed to the armed enemy, not to civilians, not to the campuses."

The audience once again broke out into jeers, as though saying: Tell that to the Marines, Eddie.

"But we will also intensify support for the reconciliation efforts of the government. This has not stopped. The government, at all levels, continues to exert maximum effort to bring everybody back toward the Center. We aim for everyone to agree on a common objective, a common direction, a common plan of action so that our ship of state, regardless of how leaky it is right now, will not continue to be leaky, but shall be able to traverse the dangerous waters through which it must pass and reach the promised land which you and I all aspire for."

Did the General perhaps see himself as Moses?

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Fact-Finding Report Links Vigilantes to Drugs, Coercion

42000168 Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 21 Oct 87-11 Nov 87

[Report of the U.S.-Philippine Fact-Finding Mission led by Ramsey Clark, 20-30 May 1987—three part report]

[21 Oct 87 pp 19-22—Government Sponsorship Hit]

[Excerpts]

The Fact-Finding Team

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General, international human rights lawyer.

Gerald Horne, Professor of history and law, Sara Lawrence College; special counsel, Local 1199, Hospital Workers Union; former executive director, National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Ralph McGehee, 25-year-veteran CIA officer; recipient, Career Intelligence Medal; author, "Deadly Deceits, My 25 Years in the CIA."

Catherine Pinkerton, CSJ, legislative associate, "Network"; A Social Justice Lobby; past president, U.S. Leadership Conference of Women Religious.

Lester Edwin J. Ruiz, associate managing editor, ALTERNATIVES: A JOURNAL FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND HUMANE GOVERNANCE; adjunct professor of ethnics, New York Theological Seminary.

Leonard Weinglass, international human rights attorney, counsel for political/criminal defendants in the U.S.

Introduction

With the collapse of the peace talks between the Aquino government and the National Democratic Front (NDF) in February of this year, the almost 2-decade-long civil war has taken a turn for the worse. The New Armed Forces of the Philippines (NAFP), under the cover of President Corazon Aquino's February "declaration of war" speech to the Philippine Military Academy, has intensified its counter-insurgency operations against the New People's Army (NPA) and its supporters, and against the Muslim "rebellion."

With the intensification of military operations, right-wing, anti-communist vigilante groups began surfacing in different parts of the country. These groups, which include the *Alsa Masa*, the *NAKASAKA* and the *Tadtad*, have become notorious for harassing, torturing and executing Philippine civilians. Despite confirmed reports of these gross human rights violations, government and military officials appear favorably disposed to these vigilante groups. President Aquino has publicly endorsed *NAKASAKA* as a form of "people's power" and an "effective weapon against communism." Secretary of Defense Rafael Ilete has admitted his support for the more notorious *Alsa Masa*. Secretary of Local Governments Jaime Ferrer actively campaigned for the organization of these vigilante groups in all parts of the country. To date there are approximately 50 vigilante groups in the Philippines.

Upon the request of numerous Davao-based "cause-oriented" groups, the Philippine Alliance of Human Rights Advocates (PAHRA) petitioned the Presidential

Committee on Human Rights (PCHR) in early March of this year to conduct an investigation into the activities of the *Alsa Masa*. Citing the report from an investigation conducted by the Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace (EMJP) 5-9 March 1987, PAHRA alleged that the *Alsa Masa* was violating human rights and that it was being armed and supported by the Davao Metropolitan District Command (METRODISCOM) the Philippine Constabulary (national police) unit in Davao City. The PCHR, in a report to "strictly restricted to their respective neighborhoods... unarmed, and their recruitment... clearly voluntary" (Malaya, 20 March 1987). This advice has still to be acted upon by the Aquino government.

In the meantime, human rights violations attributed to these right-wing vigilante groups have continued. The arrest without warrant and mauling of Bernardo Janon and Wilfredo Pelington by elements of the 431st Philippine Constabulary company and members of the *Alsa Masa*; the gruesome murder by decapitation of Agustin Logo and Peter Alderite by members of the fanatical sect Tadtad; the destruction of community-based projects in Dumalag, Davao, by *Alsa Masa* members, as well as the fear and intimidation that is felt by many in the villages where these vigilante groups operate, are only a few examples of increasing militarization in the Philippines.

In the light of these conditions, PAHRA requested the formation of the Fact-Finding Delegation to investigate vigilante violence in the Philippines. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, headed the six-person fact finding team. The team visited the Philippines from 20 to 30 May 1987.

During their stay in the Philippines, members of the team traveled to the islands of Mindanao, Cebu, Negros and Luzon. They interviewed civilian and military officials, members of cause-oriented and human rights groups and the victims and relatives of victims of vigilante atrocities, including Bishop Antonio Fortich, whose outspoken stance against human rights violations resulted in the infamous bombing of his official residence earlier this year. The vigilante group Kristiano Kontra Komunismo (Christians Against Communism) took credit for the attack.

The team dialogued with members of the Council of Leaders of the National Movement to Disband Vigilantes (NMDV). Meeting at the residence of the late Jose Kiokno, former chairperson of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights participants included Constitutional Commissioners Ponce Bennagen and Lino Brocka, Roman Catholic Bishop Antonio Nepomuceno, U.S. missionaries Fr Thomas Marti and Carolyn and Dave Shrock-Schenk, author Armando Malay and peasant leader Raphael Mariano.

The team interviewed military and government officials, both local and national, about their efforts to prevent these human rights violations and the official position of the government and the military concerning vigilante

groups. Team members met with Lt Col Franco Calida, commander of the Davao METRODISCOM; Col Sumaoy, assistant to Col Jesus Magno, commander of the Davao Regional Unified Command; Douglas Cagas, governor of Davao del Sur; and Rafael Iletto, Secretary of National Defense. All are key officials involved with the vigilante movement. The team met with members of the Presidential Committee on Human Rights, including former Chief Justice Jose B.L. Reyes, Zeneida Quezon Avancena and Sister Mariani Dimaranan, about their role in protecting human rights in the context of a war of counter-insurgency. Secretary of Local Governments Jaime Ferrer refused to meet with the delegation. The U.S. Embassy abruptly cancelled a scheduled meeting with a team member the day before it was to be held.

The objectives of the Fact-Finding Mission were to study and document the impact of right-wing vigilantism on the lives of the Filipino people, to investigate the relationship between the vigilante groups and the counter-insurgency plans of the Aquino government, and to examine the role of the United States in the formation and support of these vigilante groups.

One of the ways by which human rights violations are discouraged is the mobilization of international pressure. It is hoped that this consensus report, which is the result of the combined efforts of the individual members of the International Fact-Finding Delegation, may help expose these anti-democratic violations. More importantly, however, it is the team's conviction that individuals and groups, having been made more aware of these human rights abusers, will join together to resist them both in the Philippines and elsewhere.

The task is formidable. And while in the last analysis, this task belongs to the Filipino people, as they continue their struggle for a more just and humane society, they will need and deserve the support of their friends, the freedom loving peoples of the world.

[Signed] The International Fact-Finding Mission to the Philippines—9 June 1987

Historical Background

The resurgence of right-wing vigilantism in the Philippines can be better understood if viewed against the backdrop of an intensifying crisis in the political, economic, and cultural life of the Filipino people.

In the late 1960s Filipinos began to experience a growing sense of national agitation not felt before, at least not in such magnitude, in the history of the Republic. This was due, in large measure, to hardships resulting from centuries of colonial and neo-colonial domination. The Spanish "encomienda" system established a landed aristocracy which eventually formed the politico-economic infrastructure for a "culture of patronage" in which a wealthy few control the vast majority of the nation's resources while the poor majority are made to rely on the

patronage of the wealthy in order to survive. This "culture of patronage" was altered, at the turn of the century by the "American experiment in democracy" which proclaimed, on the one hand, a vision of liberal Lockean democracy, but on the other hand, solidified relationships of dependence with the landed aristocracy, which remained intact.

It was partly the failure of this patronage system to deliver what it promised that led to the growing "critical situation" in the Philippines. Despite the rhetoric of political and economic democracy, the continued success of the "Culture of Patronage" required the maintenance of an oligarchy in which political and economic power was absolute. In short, the 1960s and the early 1970s found the Philippines in the midst of a "revolution of rising expectations" for which the possibility of fulfillment was limited to a few.

On 21 September 1972, Ferdinand E. Marcos, then president of the Republic of the Philippines, placed the entire Philippine archipelago under martial law. A growing outcry from the poor and those who resented the use of the U.S. military bases to facilitate the war against Vietnam, combined with a series of events, many of which were staged, created the crisis atmosphere which seemed to warrant the temporary imposition of martial law.

As martial law continued on through the years, the national agitation of the early 1970s was gradually transposed into the national crisis of the Marcos dictatorship. For example, the war of liberation waged by the Moro National Liberation Front/Bangsa Moro Army in the southern Philippines, while consistent with the 450-year history of the Moro struggle for self-determination, began to focus on what Abdurasaad Asani called the Marcos dictatorship's "barbaric campaign of genocide" against the Moro people. The rapid growth of the New People's Army not only confirmed what some international observers had called the Philippines' "drift to the left" but evidenced the steadily declining legitimacy of the Marcos government. Increasing economic deterioration, while generated by pressure from both domestic and transnational interests, was seen to be exacerbated by the Marcos dictatorship. Despite the fact that, as mentioned before, the crisis had deep roots in a colonial past, primary responsibility for the crisis was increasingly attributed to Marcos.

The intensifying crisis was also being noticed by international observers. The International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, the Lawyers' Committee for International for International Human Rights, and agencies of the United Nations, the Vatican, and the World Council of Churches documented and reported on cases of arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, murder, "hamletting," and summary execution carried out by military troops, Civilian Home Defense Forces, and other paramilitary groups and "private armies." These

international groups also reported on the deteriorating social and economic conditions and the consequent harsh impact on the lives of the growing numbers of poor.

Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino Jr.'s assassination on 21 August 1983, marked what observers have called the "beginning of the end" of the Marcos dictatorship. Indeed, Aquino's assassination transformed the Philippine political landscape both on the domestic and international level. As it "tore into the very fabric of Philippine life," it rekindled the sentiment of protest in the majority of the Filipino people and catapulted the largely "silent" middle and upper middle classes into an open conflict with the Marcos dictatorship. Whereas earlier, the business community had been willing to "overlook" the abuses of the dictatorship so long as business opportunity was open to them, the Aquino assassination rudely awakened them to the realization that the Marcos regime was "bad for business."

Discontent had been boiling for a long time, and the steady organizing work of cause-oriented, religious and National Democratic Front-related groups had built a solid and broad opposition to the dictatorship. With the Aquino assassination, the pot boiled over. The growing disaffection of the business community, the huge protest marches of labor, student, religious and other groups, and the rapid expansion of the New People's Army (along with Marcos' seeming inability to control it) forced Marcos to defend the legitimacy of his rule. In November of 1985, Marcos announced on U.S. television that he was calling a "snap" presidential election. Marcos lost his gamble. Domestically and internationally observed electoral fraud coupled with the determination of the Filipino people to get Marcos out led to the last minute defection of key sectors of the military, the now famous "EDSA Revolution," and the final downfall of the dictator.

The February 1986 "Revolution" or "Rebellion" left an ambiguous legacy—an ambiguity that pervades the political scene today. On the one hand, even though the rebellion ousted Ferdinand Marcos from power, it left in place many of the political structures and social inequalities on which his dictatorship was built. There remains a small but vocal sector of Marcos loyalists, who are significant less for their attempts to reinstate Marcos loyalists, who are significant less for their attempts to reinstate Marcos than for their adherence to a rightist authoritarian view of politics.

On the other hand, the rebellion brought to the fore a legion of popular grassroots movements. Inspired by their initial success in helping to overthrow Marcos, they have continued to expand their activities, thereby keeping open the political space for democracy. They have also introduced into Philippine politics a new democratic vision of a deliberative, participatory and compassionate political practice. There is, indeed, a growing

commitment in the Philippines not only to political, social and economic change, but also to changing the very processes by which these changes take place.

At present, however, the question of how these various political forces will play themselves out is still open. From the start, it has been clear that, given the contentious character of social and Political forces in the Philippines, the only viable option in the transition to a post-Marcos era would be a coalition government of liberal democratic elites and oppositionists from national democratic and Muslim groups and cultural minorities, as well as interest-group and sectoral organizations such as labor unions and peasant associations.

In practice, however, it has turned out that key civilian and military positions have been filled by individuals who either had served faithfully under the Marcos dictatorship or were part of the oligarchy which has dominated both the Marcos and Aquino regimes. Rightist individuals and groups have worked quickly and effectively to retain the primacy of elitism and virulent anti-communism in the government, taking advantage of the sentiments in the military, the structural inertia left over from the Marcos period, and the help of disillusioned centrists, thus, even though there is a progressive minority in the new government, and even though Aquino may be personally committed to moderate, centrist government, her regime has become dominated by the power struggle among the old democratic elites, which include many rightists. Indeed, in recent months, this power struggle has increased, resulting in threatened and attempted coups, as well as the dismissal or removal of the more progressive elements in the Aquino government.

Some of Aquino's early initiatives were marked by an unequivocal commitment to the democratization of the highly militarized and anti-democratic Marcos regime. Against the advice of the military, she freed a significant number of political prisoners, actively sought to restore the democratic processes including the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and of due process. At the same time, she appointed a number of progressive individuals to key position in her Cabinet. While largely composed of elite democrats, the Constitutional Commission which drafted the now ratified 1986 Constitution included a few representatives of sectoral organizations. A Presidential Committee for Human Rights, with investigative and recommendatory powers, was appointed to investigate human rights violations committed largely by the military. Most significantly, Aquino entered into a 60-day ceasefire agreement with the National Democratic Front (NDF) and held peace talks seeking a comprehensive and peaceful solution to the insurgency.

At the same time, however, the New Armed Forces of the Philippines continued its counter-insurgency operations against the National Democratic Front, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army.

Moreover, elements within the military opened fire on a farmers' demonstration on Mendiola Street in Manila killing 19, and shot 17 farmers, including several children, in Lupao, Nueva Ecija Province, north of Manila, and have remained largely unpunished. The land reform program promised by Aquino has not been pursued actively. Little has been done toward creating a more just, humane and equitable economy. The Aquino government, particularly in its economic philosophy, has chosen the path set by IMF-World Bank advisers.

It appears, on balance, that President Aquino has succumbed to tremendous pressure from these authoritarian elements in her government and has opted for the military's hard line, anti communist course, with the collapse of the peace talks between the National Democratic Front and the government in February of this year, and with Aquino's "unsheathing the sword" against both the left and the right opposition, the New Armed Forces has escalated its military operations against the insurgency, protected largely by this legitimization. Indeed, Task Force Detainees of the Philippines (TFDP), a Roman Catholic human rights organization with offices all over the country, has documented continued, sometimes increasing, violations of human rights under the Aquino government, for example, arrest and detention of political prisoners for the period February 1986 to 31 October 1986, totaled 603. While 345 have been released, 33 persons are missing, while 30 have been reported "salvaged" (executed) by military or paramilitary groups.

The Presidential Committee on Human Rights, in its Periodic Complaints Inventory covering the period up to 30 April 1987, recovered 293 cases of "salvaging," 90 cases of torture, 90 cases of missing, 12 cases of "ham-letting," 46 cases of burning, 72 cases of harassment, 33 cases of massacre, these violations of human rights perpetrated by military and paramilitary units, including the Civilian Home Defense forces (CHDF) and armed vigilante groups, suggest a serious situation which the Aquino government has failed seriously and actively to address.

It is no longer clear how capable the Aquino government is of attaining the primacy of civilian over military authority, or the efficacious participation of the people in the process of governance. Despite the overwhelming ratification of the 1986 Constitution, and what appears to be an overwhelming victory for Aquino candidates in the recently concluded May congressional elections, serious fissures are emerging and anti-democratic tendencies appear to be consolidating.

It is this seeming consolidation of the military, police, civilian government and media protected by President Aquino that provides the historical background and context for the Fact-Finding Mission's investigations into vigilantism in the Philippines.

[28 Oct 87 pp 18-22—Intolerance Toward Muslims, Reformers, Non-members]

In 1984, 170 foreign (mostly U.S.) corporations ranked among the top 1,000 Philippine companies. These 170 together earned 66.1 percent of the total combined net income of the top 1,000 firms. The three largest U.S. firms—Union Oil, Citibank and Bank of America—are among the top six Philippine firms.

When President Aquino came into office in 1986, she appointed human rights lawyer August Sanchez to be the minister of Labor. Sanchez vowed to protect the rights of workers and to look into allegations that both domestic and multinational firms were violating workers' rights. One of his harshest critics was the U.S. business community. Another was the U.S. department of state. Undersecretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost, in a speech to the Foreign Service institute, said: "I am apprehensive that the labor minister is attacking multinationals (and) endorsing strikes... Maybe they've got to rein Mr Sanchez in or get him to change his policy views." Under pressure from the U.S., the Philippine military and the Philippine business community, President Aquino did finally fire Sanchez in December 1986.

National Security Interests

In addition to "economic interests," U.S. policy seeks to protect "national security interests." This generally refers to the continued U.S. domination of the region justified as preventing the spread of communism and guarding strategic sea lanes and sources of natural resources from falling under Soviet or communist control. In the Philippines, the primary guarantors of U.S. National Security are five U.S. military facilities which include Subic Naval Base, the largest U.S. naval base outside the U.S., and Clark Air Force Base, headquarters to the Thirteenth U.S. Air Force and logistical hub of U.S. military air traffic in the Western Pacific.

Many experts question the actual security value of the Philippine bases. Retired Rear Admiral Eugene la Rocque who served for many years in the Pacific, states: "There is no sound, reasonable military justification for the bases." He calls them a "vestige of the past." He quotes Admiral Robert Long, outgoing Commander-in-chief of the Pacific as saying that the military aspect of the Soviet regional threat is "somewhat overworked." Many defense analysts say that the "forward defense" policy used to defend the bases is outdated by modern technology, and that the bases serve more as a projection of U.S. power in the region.

The bases also serve as a major storage center for U.S. nuclear weapons, although he did not tell his people for many years, President Marcos allowed nuclear-powered warships to dock in Subic Bay and aircraft carrying nuclear bombs to land at Clark Air Base. A top-secret National Security Council paper states that the "Authorized Ceiling on Nuclear Weapon Deployments" in the Philippines in 1971 was 201, including 115 tactical bombs aboard naval vessels. In 1931, 260 bombs were allowed. Ironically, since President Aquino came into

office, former Marcos Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile has raised a stir about the constitutional violations posed by the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Philippines.

The U.S. military bases are probably the U.S. "interest" most often cited by policy makers. Just after the fraudulent Philippine presidential election of 1986, while Marcos was still claiming victory, President Reagan was asked on a live television news conference if he would be willing to "put the future of those bases at some risk if it meant standing up for democracy." President Reagan responded with a long recital of the importance of the bases, and did not make even a single reference to democracy. Soon after President Aquino came into power, U.S. policy makers began to pressure her on her position regarding the renewal of the RP-U.S. Bases Agreement, which expires in 1991. Robert Dole, who was then Senate Majority Leader, proposed that U.S. aid to the new government be conditioned on President Aquino's agreement to push for the renewal of the bases agreement.

Understanding the primacy of economic and national security concerns in U.S. foreign policy is essential to understanding the U.S. relationship with the Philippines. Throughout this century, U.S. policy makers have worked closely with, and even helped to develop, a tiny but very wealthy and powerful Philippine elite, in efforts to protect these U.S. "interests."

Through the four decades during which the Philippines was a U.S. colony, and the four decades of "special relationship" since 1946, the average Filipino has suffered two major wars, a decade of martial law, and increasing poverty and malnutrition. In spite of over \$300 million in U.S. food aid since 1960, the per capita calorie intake actually decreased between 1960 and 1976. The country is rich in natural and agricultural resources, ranking among the top 15 in the world in food production. The vast majority of Philippine land, however, is owned by a very small minority, less than 2 percent on the island of Negros, for example, while 70 percent of the people live with less than enough for food, shelter, clothing and medicine.

Many people would conclude from the above that some very basic reforms are necessary in the Philippines. Yet those who call for genuine land reform or higher wages and rights for factory workers are branded as communists and are subjected to harassment, arrest, torture and death. Under Marcos, the agents include vigilante groups operating in conjunction with the military. Under Marcos, the U.S. facilitated repression by granting Marcos the military, economic and political support he needed to stay in power. Under Aquino, evidence indicates that U.S. facilitation of repression may be continuing through support for the Philippine military and violent vigilante groups.

Davao City, on the island of Mindanao, has an area of 244,000 square kilometers and is geographically the largest city in the world. It has a population of roughly 800,000, including 375,000 voters. It is noted for its agricultural exports, particularly coconut.

During the Marcos regime, Davao was known as the laboratory of the new People's Army because the NPA was active there and was experimenting with programs it hoped to launch elsewhere in the country. Davao now serves as the laboratory for the vigilante group known as Alsa Masa (Rising Masses).

The declared intent of the Alsa Masa is to rid Davao of NPA insurgents. People in all sectors of society, however, especially those who actively advocate social reforms, reported incidents of human rights violation by vigilante groups. Those who testified before the fact-finding team did so at some risk.

Seventy percent of the population of Davao City are urban poor, many of whom have been victims of murder, torture, illegal house search and arrest by the military; confiscation of property by the military; and Alsa Masa harassment. The Alsa Masa also harassed and threatened Larry Ilagan, a congressional candidate who supported the cause of urban slum dwellers, and confiscated P300,000 intended for public economic projects.

Transport workers who had held protest rallies and unsuccessfully petitioned the Philippine government on the issue of the price of gasoline and other needed commodities feel that their protests, petitions and rallies have generated abuse from the Alsa Masa. One labor leader, Felipe Abundo, was killed by the Alsa Masa, which then threatened to kill 21 more leaders if they failed to comply with Alsa Masa demands.

The United Workers of Southern Mindanao, who number 15,000 and are affiliated with the Kilusang Mayo Uno have also been under attack. Also Masa members killed Federico Fuentes, a labor leader, at the 10 December 1986 rally to mark the first day of the ceasefire between the Philippine government and the National Democratic Front. On 28 April 1987 another labor leader, Peter Alderite, was hacked to death with bolo knives by members of the Tadtad, a vigilante group associated with the government-endorsed NAKASAKA. Other abuses include the arrest, without an arrest warrant, of Roman Lopez on 18 March 1987, and the confiscation of 15,000 from the union.

Laborers and farmers reported threats from Lt Col Franco Calida, commander of the Davao City Metropolitan District Command (the national police force), that they must "surrender" by a certain date or be considered NPA members or supporters and be subject to military operations. In fact, the military dropped 14 bombs on 3 neighborhoods where the people did not surrender.

The threats and bombings have forced the people to evacuate their neighborhoods and relocate in evacuation centers where they were again subjected to forced recruitment by Alsa Masa and military personnel. Representatives of some of the 18-21 tribal groups, that make up about one quarter of the region's population, reported massive evacuations by their people due to strafing, burning of their homes and operations conducted by fanatic paramilitary groups. Those among them who were suspected of supporting the NPA were the main targets, but everyone fled in fear. As a result of the evacuation, they now face widespread hunger, high infant mortality and malnourishment.

Members of the League of Filipino Students (LFS) reported that armed vigilante members were forcing LFS members to join the Alsa Masa and spreading harmful false information about the LFS. Several LFS members have been arrested and one was shot. Doctors, nurses, and other health personnel who serve the poor in community-based health organizations report harassment and confiscation of health clinic equipment including scales, first aid kits, a typewriter and a refrigerator.

GABRIELA, a coalition of 100 organizations of urban poor, farm and professional women, reports that members of their organization for urban women were told they had to get a permit from the Metropolitan District Command and then were forced to sign affidavits saying that they had been NPA members and supporters but were now surrendering. The women were forced to appear on television and radio programs claiming this. Consequently, GABRIELA came under attack as a communist group.

Members of a GABRIELA affiliate for peasant women were forced to evacuate their homes when Alsa Masa members marked with an "X." In the evacuation centers to which they fled, their names were listed as "Surrenderers" to the Alsa Masa. When they protested, they were told that no food would be given to their children unless they agreed to be so listed. Further, protests that the names of babies were listed as Alsa Masa members met with more threats.

Church leaders have taken varying positions toward the vigilante movement. Some bishops have endorsed Alsa Masa and NAKASAKA as anti-communist movements. Others who have helped to organize the people against the abuses of these vigilante groups are considered pro-communist, supporters of the NPA and subjected to "red-scare" tactics. Some fear that polarization within the church community will strengthen the hand of the vigilantes.

It was also reported that the Alsa Masa is reviving anti-Muslim sentiments, in Muslim areas by urging Christians in Cotabato to join Civilian Home Defense Forces and arm themselves against the Muslims. Other dangerous trends include the alignment of Moro national

"warlord" politicians behind former Defense Minister Enrile and the emergence of Islamic revivalist groups espousing anti-nationalist principles.

On 22 May 1987, the morning following the team's hearing the testimonies of Alsa Masa victims, the team left the Maguindanao Hotel and encountered Jun Pala, a radio commentator known as the "Voice of the Alsa Masa," accompanied by four armed men. This occurred after a radio broadcaster which described the fact-finding team's meeting of the previous evening as a conference of communist groups attended by Soviet journalists.

Government and military officials tend to characterize the Alsa Masa and other vigilante groups as spontaneous civilian responses to communist insurgency. This characterization is contradicted, however when these same officials discuss the relationships between the vigilantes and the military, police and local government. Conrado Estuart, assistant to the Mayor of Davao City, said that whenever Alsa Masa members go into a barangay they are accompanied by the military. He said that the military controls the weapons and provides the basic training for the Alsa Masa leaders.

Estuart denied that the city government supports the Alsa Masa, except that the city did give P180,000 for "humanitarian" purposes and has provided rice and jobs for Alsa Masa members. Estuart said the President Aquino has neither approved of nor given any order to stop the Alsa Masa. The visit of Jaime Ferrer, Aquino's Local Government's secretary, did, however, signal Philippine government support, according to Estuart.

Lt Col Franco Calida, commander of the Metropolitan District Command in Davao city, is a known supporter of the Alsa Masa. When fact-finding team members interviewed him in his office, Calida emphasized that there are no forms to sign, no formal membership for Alsa Masa. He said it exists "in the hearts and minds of the people." When asked, "what if a person refuses to join the Alsa Masa?" Calida replied, "Then they are choosing sides. There can't be any middle ground."

In recruiting Alsa Masa members, Calida said "I go out to the people. The people and leaders have a list of members. When NPA sympathizers are identified, people report in writing the names of those against the movement. Those identified are given a warning and later brought before the people."

When asked about the members of Alsa Masa bearing arms, Calida replied that once leaders are chosen, they become paramilitary, they are armed. He also stated that the Alsa Masa is an organization within the military. When the fact-finding team questioned both Calida and Estuart about human rights violations committed by vigilante groups, both replied that they were investigated.

In terms of U.S. involvement, Calida said that he was trained by U.S. special forces at one of the U.S. bases in the Philippines. He also referred to two training courses he had participated in the United States, one at Fort Lee, Virginia, and one at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. More recently, he said that U.S. Embassy officials had met with him and were interested in the similarities between Alsa Masa and Central American counter-insurgency strategies. It is widely alleged in Davao that Calida has met frequently with William Parker of the United States Information Agency (USIA).

It is also interesting to note an American hero of Calida's. On the wall behind his desk, below the pictures of President Aquino and General Fidel Ramos, he has a large laminated poster of Cobra, a character played by Sylvester Stallone of "Rambo" fame, with the caption "Crime is a disease, meet the cure."

Davao del Sur

NAKASAKA (People United for Peace) is another well-known vigilante group. It was organized by Douglas Cagas, governor of Davao del Sur Province and Colonel Jesus Magno, the regional military commander. The movement is described as "unarmed" and "non-violent"; however, its members arm themselves with bolo knives. One member organization of NAKASAKA, known as the Tadtad has chopped two people to death in the last few months. NAKASAKA has been endorsed by President Corazon Aquino as a "concrete manifestation of people power" and an "effective weapon against communism."

Lt Col Sumaoy, who works with Col Magno, describes NAKASAKA in terms of the "people-power revolution." He said it was modeled after the Alsa Masa, but differed radically in that people were "unarmed," and that the members are "law-abiding citizens." According to Sumaoy, all citizens are expected to join NAKASAKA. It is the citizen's duty to report "bad elements" in the community and to warn when strangers enter, he said that membership is voluntary, but those who refuse to join will be asked to defend their decision.

When asked about the case where NAKASAKA vigilantes beheaded a labor leader, Col Sumaoy responded that the incident had been "unintentional." He added that even the relatives of the slain man had not protested.

Governor Douglas Cagas, a human rights lawyer who had been a staunch opponent of Marcos, originally initiated NAKASAKA. When fact-finding team members met with him, he cited NPA abuses as the impetus for forming the organizations.

According to Cagas, NAKASAKA is a quasi-police group that is authorized to make citizen's arrest and has set up checkpoints along the roads because of "the will of the people." Col Sumaoy had said that people could be

stopped at the checkpoints if they were carrying "Marxist materials." Cagas said they could not be arrested for that, but only for actually being a Marxist.

When questioned about the brutal chopping murder of a labor leader, Cagas said that President Aquino was definitely embarrassed since she had expressed support for unarmed vigilantes. However, he denied that Tadtad works with NAKASAKA. He also said the corpse was beheaded 4 days after death and that "We in the NAKASAKA have told the farmers to discipline themselves."

Cagas denied meeting with General Singlaub or any connection with CAUSA or other foreign groups. When asked about outside funding for NAKASAKA, however, he responded, "I will take money from anyone as long as it is done publicly." Asked if that would include the CIA, he responded, "Yes."

[11 Nov 87 pp 17-22—Cebu Drug Links, Armed Coercion]

The island of Cebu stretches 140 miles across the Visayan Sea in the central Philippines. Cebuanos are a friendly, proud people known world-wide for the production of lovely guitars. Cebu City, a bustling metropolis of 1.3 million, accommodates significant industry including Timex, Fairchild, and a Pepsi bottling plant.

The International Fact-Finding Team spent one bustling day there, interviewing Vice-Governor Democrito Barcenas, leading clergy, refugees from vigilante violence and representatives of labor and human rights groups. The clear, over-all consensus was that an anti-communist hysteria along with vigilante violence had increased markedly in recent months.

The team also learned that the United States Information Service (USIS) had sponsored lectures on the "evils of communism" and distributed literature of the same tenor to top ranking students in the area who were then encouraged to form associations to combat it. Materials from CAUSA International (the political arm of the Rev Moon's Unification Church), an extreme rightist group, is freely available from USIS and similar literature is distributed through the USIS library. Representatives of student groups told the team that these activities have been going on since 1984.

Simultaneously, the team heard, through an article in the PHILIPPINE INQUIRER (24 May 1987) and through direct interviews, that retired major General John K. Singlaub had appeared recently at the office of the Task Force Detainees (TFD), a Roman Catholic human rights organization, pretending to be a German journalist. Singlaub was allegedly accompanied by a leading anti-communist commentator Soe Son. They were seeking

information on TFD operations. The TFD worker recognized Singlaub from newspaper pictures and told them that he was not authorized to give out information and that they should return later. The alleged conversation lasted about 15 minutes.

An Australian researcher suggested that publicity about Singlaub may just be a diversion. The researcher suggested that more attention should be paid to John Whitehall, an Australian who resides in Long Beach, California and serves as vice-president of the World Christian Anti-Communist Crusade. Whitehall has been in and out of the Philippines 14 times in recent months and has close ties to Jun Alcover, another anti-communist activist who recently visited the United States under the auspices of Whitehall and the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), of which Singlaub is the chairman. Alcover returned to Cebu from the U.S. bragging that he had spied on U.S.-based Philippine support groups.

Whitehall associates with the Alliance of Democracy and Morality, an organization linked with the Philippine Ministry of Defense, a relationship that was particularly strong when Juan Ponce Enrile was defense minister, but which has survived his departure. Whitehall has been distributing hysterically anti-communist literature to the Philippine military and was misrepresented as bearing the office stamp of the Australian government.

When the team questioned defense Minister Rafael Ileto responded "What's wrong with trying to educate our people against communism?" Though he denied meeting Singlaub except "socially," others said that Singlaub had met with Ileto as well as with Peping Cojuangco (President Aquino's politically active brother), Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin, former Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, General Felix Brawner, and Teodoro Locsin Jr., Aquino's speech writer who opened many doors for Singlaub.

Vice-Governor Democrito Barcenas told members of the team that John Singlaub had spoken with military officials in Cebu and that it was "very possible" that the CIA was involved in the vigilante violence and anti-communist activity. He observed that Jun Alcover was receiving funding from CAUSA and that Cebu General Abenina had visited the CAUSA meeting in Manila. He also said that a local radio station, DYCA, received 2 million pesos from the Frederick Ebert foundation, a German organization rumored to be a CIA front. The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines owns the station which also receives money from the National Endowment for Democracy. DYCA, which previously was linked to Marcos, has been whipping up waves of anti-communist hysteria.

With regret, he commented, "If you want to be successful politically, you must not antagonize the U.S. and if you want to win elections, you must court U.S. influence."

Vice-Governor Barcenas expressed deep concern about the escalation of anti-communism. This former human rights lawyer noted that there were many recent unsolved jail breaks, and that the escapees may have joined vigilante groups. Barcenas and others told the team that many criminals and anti-social types, had joined the Alsa Masa, whose members get drunk and engage in illegal cockfighting and gambling. They also reported that vigilante groups recruit from among the many unemployed and street beggars.

Barcenas testified that the Alsa Masa has ties to the Philippine Constabulary (the national police force) and that the fanatical vigilante group known as the Tadtad has links with the military. Recently Tadtad members shot a police officer and sought refuge with the military, increasing tensions between the police and military.

The number of disappearances and shootings had been phenomenally high in recent weeks. The day before Good Friday, the military and Tadtad members attacked the offices of the United Farmers Organization and killed a leading official. Twelve farmers were killed in February alone. From 17 April to late 9 May houses have been burned.

The Cebu copper and gold mines, the largest in Asia, export to the United States and Australia. They are owned by the extravagantly wealthy Soriano family. The Southern Philippine Federation of Miners, the major labor union there is affiliated with the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), a grassroots, progressive national labor federation. But KADRE, a vigilante group with 2,000 members that is armed and supervised by the military and supported by the mine owners, has been forcing miners to sign up with them. KADRE members reportedly include marijuana growers and ex-civilian Home Defense Force members. Jun Alcover, a KADRE leader, reportedly put a gun in the mouth of a miner's wife and tried to force her to confess to being a member of the New People's Army.

The team also visited an evacuation center which used schools to house refugees from vigilante threats and violence. Beginning in January of 1987, the Citizens Against Communism Army (CACA) has been trying to force residents of the town of Toledo to buy I.D. cards bearing the signature of Jun Alcover that cost 10 pesos (\$50). If they refuse, they are branded "communists." Some who refused to join were killed. Many of the vigilantes are marijuana planters and if the refugees refused to plant marijuana, they were labelled "communists." Since 1982, the military has been using helicopters to pick up the marijuana.

More refugees were housed at the Guadalupe Parish Church. They too, had fled vigilante terror after they refused to join. Members of the Tadtad group, many in military fatigues and carrying bolos and guns had been harassing them to join, by strafing and burning houses and saying they would be massacred if they refused to

join. Many joined the vigilantes out of fear. Those who refused fled to the church. In tattered clothing and living in dismal conditions, they continue to press local officials for action.

Monsignor Jose Barces, who served as chair of the local ceasefire committee, and Father Galileo Jumaoas told fact-finding team members that initially, unjust taxation by the New People's Army had given impetus to the formation of vigilante groups. But, they said, this was manipulated by local government, military officials and others such as CAUSA who took advantage of the situation to organize vigilante groups.

Filipino activists in Cebu told team members that the effect of this anti-communist campaign has been to label as "red" any form of dissent, such as questioning the presence of the U.S. military bases or the practices of transnational corporations. This then opens one up to harassment and intimidation by vigilante groups.

They were interested in the progress of the Iran-Contra hearings in the United States, because they saw clear parallel with the activities of John Singlaub and CAUSA in terms of "privatized" U.S. policy being carried on in the Philippines.

Negros

Negros is one of the more favored islands of the Philippines. About the size of the State of Connecticut, it is divided by a rugged volcanic range of mountains which reaches 8,000 feet. Negros Occidental, with 70 percent of the island's population, was the wealthiest province in the country before Marcos came to power, and had great political influence in the national government. The few large landowners who dominated the island produced mainly sugar for export. Nearly 60 percent of the commercial sugar produced in the Philippines comes from Negros Occidental. Consequently, a province that could easily feed tens of millions of people, has enriched a handful of families and impoverished most of its people. Close to 70 percent of the approximately 2 million inhabitants suffer malnutrition. The one third of the population that is urbanized, half in Bacolod City, lives overwhelmingly in slums.

Negros Oriental, the rougher and more sparsely settled part of the island with less than 1 million people is populated primarily by persons originally from nearby Cebu than to Negros Occidental. Poorer and more rural, without great private wealth to help enforce order, Oriental Negros has presented a greater challenge to military government. Law enforcement there is directed from Manila through Operation Sugarlandia, an integrated counter-insurgency program of the Philippine military.

The plight of sugar workers, always bad, radically worsened in the mid 1980s when U.S. sugar purchases declined dropping production in Negros by 30 percent in a single year. Many workers, employed for only 6 months out of the year when the mills are operating, were thrown out of all work.

Fisherman, who supply the island population with fresh fish, are generally poor. Efforts to improve their condition have been systematically frustrated by the government's practice of protecting large commercial fishing and resisting the formation of effective workers' unions and cooperatives which threaten existing power. The use of dynamite by commercial fishing operations in coastal waters has removed extensive near shore areas from production.

During the years of the Marcos military dictatorship, the ruthless use of force and the power of large private landowners made opposition to government difficult and dangerous. With the presidential elections of February, 1986, the people of Negros looked forward to peace and the evolution of democratic institutions. An investigation of conditions in Negros made 23-24 May 1987 reveals instead an alarming growth of militarization in the last several months.

Precise numbers are impossible to obtain under the circumstances. Individual reports during March, April, and May refer to 2,000 evacuees, 80 houses burned, a hundred families displaced, aerial bombardments, aerial strafing, helicopter gunship strafing, slaughter of animal, torture, sexual molestation, disappearances, systematic unlawful arrests and searches, mortar fire into villages, summary executions or "salvaging" as it is called in the Philippines, the church schools and a church burned, among other violence. Behind these figures is a radical trend toward greater militarization of this island.

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the motives behind the militarization and of the conditions that exist on Negros is a few specific illustrations of the nature of the targets and methods of operation.

In a famous, more accurately infamous, act of violence in the early minutes of 28 April, a fragmentation grenade was thrown into the courtyard of the Domus Dei building in Bacolod City, landing just feet away from the office and bedroom of Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich. Had the grenade landed on the concrete walk rather than sticking in the mud of the recently watered garden, it would have entered the passageway to the bishop's quarters. Fortunately, one was in the courtyard, so the grenade explosion injured no one, though property damage was extensive. The Kristiano Kontra Komunismo (KKK), (Christians Against Communism) took credit for the attack. It is one of many vigilante groups with a fanatic religious connection.

Fortich, a staunch supporter of human rights and land reform, has been the victim of several anti-"communist" campaigns. In January, 1985 his official residence was burned to the ground. In March of this year, military officials raided a Roman Catholic Rectory and charged that 35 priests under Bishop Fortich were communists. The bishop denied the allegations, which came in the wake of a nationwide campaign against progressive clergy.

In May, Bishop Fortich spoke at a mass concelebrated by all 110 priests of his diocese to give thanks that he survived the grenade attack. While Fortich was speaking, an anti-communist group called the Negros Citizens' Alliance against communism circulated a manifesto that warned Fortich that "You have run out of goodwill in Bacolod City... Your life is at stake...." This activity shows that compassionate church leadership is seen as an enemy of the military.

A second incident targeted Eduardo "Bobby" Montecillo, a 33-year-old father, who is a human rights worker with the Roman Catholic Task Force Detainees. He had received death threats and other forms of harassment over the years, but it was not until 30 April 1987 that a direct attempt was made on his life. Miraculously he survived.

On the evening of 29 April, Bobby had obtained an admission from local authorities in the town of Kabankalan that they were holding three men that they had previously denied were in their custody. The officials promised they would release the men the next day if relatives of the men filed applications.

The next morning, Bobby prepared the papers in his office and was shortly thereafter asked to have a beer at a refreshment stand to discuss human rights. At first he declined, but on the insistence of several men, he decided it was his duty to discuss human rights. Local law enforcement participated in arranging the meeting and after a brief discussion, it was suggested to continue the discussion inside. The law enforcement officers left leaving those they had come with there with Bobby. It was midday, downtown, off a busy street.

Once inside, Bobby realized there was someone else in the room behind him. Startled, he suddenly stood, throwing his arm up, just as a shot aimed at his head was fired. His movement caused the bullet to enter and travel from his shoulder through his arm exiting above the elbow. He collapsed to the floor where the gunman fired three shots into his body. Regaining consciousness in what he believes were 15 to 30 seconds, he saw the man who invited him into the room talking confidently with the man who shot him. He remained still until they left, then crawled to the door and summoned help. He was sped to a local hospital and transferred after emergency treatment to the hospital in Bacolod where he remained

in critical condition. When interviewed on 23 May, Bobby remained in serious condition, terribly weak, but more committed than ever to the cause of human rights.

The attack, with law enforcement complicity, shows that the human rights movement, presently the subject of an intensive propaganda campaign, is seen as an enemy of the police state. The brazenness of the attack shows the confidence the military has that it can kill with impunity. Usually police, even in the most totalitarian situation, are careful to avoid observation so they can deny responsibility.

In a third incident, occurring on 6 May 1987 at 3:30 p.m. at a bus stop near a major crossing, police boarded a jeepney (public transport vehicle) and took three persons: a 27-year-old mother of three names Marisa Nombre a 26-years-old mother of one names Nenita Villabogon, and 14-year-old Dione Academia. Although witnesses recognized the lieutenant in charge and the other arresting officers, police have consistently denied any knowledge of the whereabouts of the three victims. Frantic parents, husbands and other relatives have made heroic efforts to find them. Military authorities in Bacolod have failed to take action. The courts have been petitioned for writs of habeas corpus.

The boldness of the police kidnappings creates an in terrorem effect. Their actions make the military the enemy of the people.

Additionally, at least 13 people were killed in a series of military police shootings over a 2-day period 25-26 April. Search efforts have thus far yielded only 5 of the 13 bodies.

The military and vigilante conduct is so disproportionate to any threat to the military that it must be assumed to arise from a military policy of repression of all opposition before it develops force.

Luzon

Luzon, the largest of the more than 7,000 islands which comprise the Philippines, occupies more than half of the land area and houses more than half of the population of the country. Stretching over 500 miles from north to south, the island is divided into 36 provinces and contains 5 of the 12 regions into which the country is divided.

It is also the most familiar island to Americans. Manila, the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay (larger in land area than Singapore) and the U.S. air base at Clark Field (larger than the District of Columbia) are all located on Luzon, as are those familiar landmarks from World War II, Corregidor and Bataan.

Through visits with human rights organizations, labor, peasant and other sectoral groups, and a trip to the two U.S. military facilities at Clark and Subic Bay, the

fact-finding team learned a great deal about the general human rights situation in Luzon, a necessary prerequisite to understanding the current threat posed by vigilantism.

The Luzon offices of Task Force Detainees (TFD), the Roman Catholic Luzon Secretariat for Social Action (LUSSA), and other human rights organizations have already done extensive research on the human rights situation on this island. According to LUZON MONITOR, a publication of TFD Luzon, for 1986, the first year of the Aquino government, "...human rights violations increased... compared to 1985's 582 reported human rights violations, there were 1,090 human rights violations recorded in 1986."

The sharpest increases occurred in northern Luzon where the number of violations rose nearly 75 percent, from 48 to 81; and in the Cagayan Valley where the increase exceeded 100 percent, rising from 233 to 488. Some of the increase is due to the improved and expanded reporting offenses, given the better climate which encouraged people to come forward during the first 6-8 months of the Aquino administration. During this period, several new TFD offices opened. Yet, there remains disturbing data which can hardly be explained fully by improved reporting. For example, summary executions or "salvagings" increased during the year from 29 to 83.

Those closest to the monitoring of human rights violations attribute the grievous increase to the substantial build-up of military forces across Luzon. In Southern Luzon, for example, the Bicol Office of TFD reported that military deployments increased from 57 to 91 in 1986. Forced evacuations which accompanied some of the military operations tripled from 1985 to 1986, from 13 to 36. In the first 6 months of the Aquino administration 25,000 people were evacuated in Northern Luzon alone.

The number of persons reported arrested also revealed a sharp increase over Marcos's last year in office, rising from 370 in 1985 to 553 in 1986. And, of the 74 political detainees still in custody in Luzon, 64 have been arrested since Aquino took office.

The utter lawlessness of the military is reflected in the case of Miriam Ruth Dugay, a 26-year-old social worker, who joined a fact-finding mission to Foral, Kalinga-Apayao investigating the mass evacuation of peasants from their homes after repeated bombing and strafing attacks. She was taken into custody by the military in the course of her work on 18 June 1986 and interrogated, psychologically tortured and detained, following the filing of a petition for habeas corpus, a court of competent jurisdiction ordered her release in July 1986. To this day she remains in custody.

The impact of increased militarization was best summarized in the April 1987 issue of *THE REGIONAL POST*, the official publication of LUSSA.

"For the past year, militarization in Luzon has been an undeniable trend. From the northern provinces of Cagayan, Apayao, and Ilocos down to the last barrio of Sorsogon in Ilocos, there has been no let up on the heavy barrage of bombs and bullets which took their toll on the lives of innocent civilians, majority of whom are farmers. While the people of Metro Manila rejoiced in the downfall of the dictatorship and savored the first winds of freedom after years of suffocating darkness, the farmers in the countryside have had absolutely no respite from the economic and political calamities they have suffered for centuries. The continued militarization of their villages is an added cross to the poverty and destitution they already bear."

It is against this backdrop of increased militarization and violations of human rights throughout Luzon that the sudden rise and proliferation of right-wing vigilante groups must be considered. The continued militarization of their villages is an added cross to the poverty and destitution they already bear."

It is against this backdrop of increased militarization and violations of human rights throughout Luzon that the sudden rise and proliferation of right-wing vigilante groups must be considered. The presence of the vigilante groups, although less developed at this point than in Mindanao, is well-documented and undeniable. There are even unconfirmed reports of the dreaded *Alsa Masa* in suburban Manila, Olongapo, San Fernando, and the Cagayan Valley. In Metro Manila, two mayors, both appointees of the Aquino government, have reportedly urged the formation of vigilante groups. The mayor of Manila assisted in the formation of the *Magic Eye*, an alleged intelligence gathering organization of some 9,000 members made up mostly of students and barangay officials.

More sinister is a group known as the *Eagle Squad* formed by a police commander in Manila. It was allegedly hooded members of this group which raided the headquarters of the *Partido ng Bayan* (PNB) (The People's Party which ran seven candidates for Senate and many for the House). Purportedly this organization has semi-official standing as part of a military operational plan. Another group of police officers started the *Huniers* in southern Manila. Its members also wear hoods when conducting raids. Two organizers of the PNB, Jaime Lopez and Reynaldo Garcia, who have been missing since 20 March 1987, are believed to have been victims of one or all of these groups. The mayor of Quezon City, another Aquino appointee, is allegedly organizing disaffected and unemployed youth through the payment of daily wages to follow "left leaders" and is even arranging to have them trained at an unannounced site for up to 1 month.

As we moved north out of Metro Manila into Central Luzon, we encountered even stronger evidence of the emergence of vigilante groups. The TFD reported 10 separate confirmed vigilante organizations operating throughout the 7 provinces of Central Luzon, most notable among them being the *Citizens Against Communist* (CAC), a group with ties in the *World Anti-Communist League*. One congressman-elect, a lawyer and former civil rights fighter, in a meeting with a member of the fact-finding team in San Fernando, expressed concern that his district was threatened by vigilante groups who want to "...eliminate the lefties." Even though he ran as a candidate on the moderate Aquino ticket (the meeting was interrupted by his appointment with President Aquino), spray painting and graffiti appeared throughout his district on the eve of elections denouncing him as a communist and a member of the NPA, because of his former role as a human rights lawyer.

Ominous is the formation in both Angeles and Olongapo, the sites of the two U.S. military facilities in Central Luzon, in businessmen's associations whose avowed purpose is to combat the public demonstrations opposing the bases in the coming period. Those organizers whom we interviewed in Angeles near the site of the base were fearful that nationalism would be equated with communism and that they would be targeted with dire consequences as a result of their opposition to the bases. It was General Singlaub who suggested to the businessmen at gatherings during his visit to the Philippines that they organize into groups to oppose leftist tendencies. Already word has gone out that no union with affiliation to the leftist KMTU will be recognized as a bargaining agent for employees. We interviewed Manuel Torres, a former employee at Clark Air Base whose 17 year tenure at the base was ended abruptly as a result of his activities as vice-chairman of the *ALLIANCE*, a militant labor group.

Not only are the nearly 7 million people who live in the densely populated Central Luzon area the subject of one of the heaviest concentrations of both Philippine and U.S. military, they have also recently been exposed to a virulent and intensive anti-communist propaganda campaign, spearheaded by CAUSA. Last August CAUSA sponsored an international construction brigade which build artesian wells and septic tanks in impoverished areas of Central Luzon. When not so engaged, its members held anti-communist seminars for the local populace. At one point a sister of a local congregation was confronted and berated for her association with the church, and avowed "communist front."

It is worth underscoring the deep, "anti-communist" sentiments that many of these vigilante groups share. In Davao, for example, *Alsa Masa* checkpoints often carried slogans like "Kill for Peace! Kill for Democracy! Kill a Communist!" Not unlike Col Franco Calida of Davao who said, "You are either for the *Alsa Masa* or you are pro-communist. There is no middle ground," the vigilante groups in Luzon arbitrarily target persons whom

they perceive to be uncooperative as "communist." When the team interviewed Secretary of Defense Iletto, a similar, though perhaps more sophisticated articulation of this anti-communist sentiment was expressed. When asked who, for the government, was a communist, Iletto admitted the difficulty of determining who was a communist, but went on to state "You must remember that fighting the communists is not a game. It is war... (and) we do not hesitate to shoot a communist who refuses to surrender." When further queried, Iletto added that the "all out force" which is not being used against the NPA, including the violence perpetrated by the vigilante groups, was "...aimed against enemies of our government, of our society... not against the peace-loving people... It's a war we are fighting, it's hard to say who are our enemies and who are not our enemies. If they are not our enemies they should sympathize with the military." In fact, Iletto confirmed that vigilante groups are tolerated and encouraged by the Department of National Defense as necessary to combat communism in the country.

A visit to the Metropolitan District Command in Angeles was also reflective of the political and ideological climate. We were given information that five political detainees were held in a prison situation within the compound. Three of the detainees were a father and his two teenage sons. In a meeting with the wife and mother of the detainees we were told precisely where she had recently visited them while in custody. The acting commander of the base at first denied their presence, then relented and allowed us to go to the site of the prison. We saw the prisoners in an open courtyard, but could not visit. We also saw one of the five who were recently arrested by a unit of the Alsa Masa and turned over to the authorities. An American who was a prisoner told us there were 240 inmates living in a facility built for just 50 prisoners. The overcrowding was evident and new construction was already underway more than double the size of the compound.

Moving north to Region I of Luzon, we found stronger evidence of vigilantism, closer ties to the military and more victims. The notorious Bandidong Pangkat gang, a group of hard-core criminals, who lost their leader when the NPA kidnapped and executed him in 1981 and had, therefore, fallen into inactivity, suddenly re-emerged in the past year as a vigilante group, allegedly with the encouragement of the military, and has already claimed six victims in Northern Luzon.

The Davao-based Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA) has also recently started functioning in the north and apparently has been harassing labor organizers. A group of persons forcibly recruited into an armed civilian unit known as the Cagayan 100 has been roaming from village to village intimidating residents into identifying alleged NPA sympathizers. Not unlike the Alsa Masa and NAKASAKA in the south, the vigilante group acts as an intelligence-gathering conduit for the military. Their commander is a Lt Col Rodolfo

Aguinaldo, Provincial Commander of the Cagayan Province who insists that the Alsa Masa started in his province and then moved south. Civilian Home Defense forces, the para-military forces organized by Marcos, still operate in this area.

During an interview at the regional Unified command headquarters in Benguet, just outside of Baguio, Colonel Pilapil denied any involvement with vigilante groups, but acknowledged that the Alsa Masa had sent "feelers" to headquarters and that he viewed such organizations as being of great help." More forthcoming was his commanding officer, General de la Cruz, who candidly told reporter Cooper Resabal of the GOLD ORE, a leading newspaper in Baguio City, several days before the team arrived that "...he had already received guidelines from higher headquarters encouraging the formation of vigilante groups." This confirmed earlier statements by Secretary Iletto about the acceptable place of vigilantes in the over-all military security program of the NAFF.

LUSSA commented on the dramatic rise of vigilantism in the Luzon region in the April 1987 issue of THE REGIONAL POST:

Today, a new and more frightening reign of terror is fast gripping the land, the rise of vigilante groups is no longer confined to Davao, but has rapidly spread to Luzon. Based on the reports pouring into the files of human rights organizations such as the Task Force Detainees, Ecumenical Movement for Justice and Peace, Philippine Alliance for human Rights Advocates, and even the Presidential Committee on human rights (PCHR), the existence of vigilante groups has ceased to be a mere controversy but is now a blatant moral sin against the very right to life and liberty. Worse than the effects of direct militarization, it is slowly eroding the moral strand and fiber of society, so that what is finally left is lawless order where life has fully lost its sacred meaning."

On 24 April 1987, the 15th LUSSA Regional Convention passed a resolution which "... strongly condemned and opposed the formation of armed vigilante groups."

While perhaps not as pervasive as in Davao or Negros, the confirmed and unconfirmed reports of the proliferation of vigilantism on Luzon manifest a clear danger to the public order and future of democracy. In many quarters people report a heightened fear since the days of Marcos. The participation of the Philippine military in the growth of this phenomena is conceded at the highest levels of command. Already victimizations have been documented by the most respected and authoritative human rights organizations in the Philippines. If strong measures are not taken immediately, overwhelming damage to the fabric of the nation could result, far exceeding the horror of the Marcos era.

BAYAN Official Criticizes Trend Against Left

42000204c Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 16 Dec 87 pp 9-11

[Interview with Etta Rosales by Cynthia P. Allanigue: "Undeclared Martial Law"; passages in italics and bold-face as published]

[Text] *The recent spate of killings and attempted killings in the Philippines victimizing some of the most prominent personalities of the Left has created yet another atmosphere of terror.*

As a result, leaders of the legal Left, who claim to be the primary targets of right-wing terror squads, have either gone into hiding or minimized public appearances. Some of them have reportedly not been attending even their meetings.

According to cause-oriented organizations, their leaders—Jimmy Tadeo of the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP), Crispin Beltran of Kilusang Mayo Uno (KUM), Loretta Rosales of Bagong Alyansang Makahayan (BAYAN), Fidel Agcaoili of Partido ng Bayan (PnB)—are on the "death list" of ultra-rightist forces, the same group, says the legal Left, which was behind the murder of BAYAN's Leandro Alejandro. Loretta Ann Rosales, better known as Etta, chairperson of BAYAN's Popular Struggles Commission, was recently interviewed in a Makati restaurant by Philippine News and Features writer Cynthia P. Allanigue.

Leaders of cause-oriented organizations have not been heard of much since the assassination of Lean Alejandro. Where are the cause-oriented groups now and what have you been doing lately?

We are in the process of adjusting to the fast developing situation. I think that all of us are already agreed that undeclared martial law is in existence. Even the moderate groups have started to examine their position.

If we can't be found lately, it is because we are adjusting to the present situation whereby we can still function but preserve our own organization in the face of these fascist onslaughts where the total war strategy of President Aquino includes among its targets the dismantling and neutralization of cause-oriented groups which evidently they seem to have branded now as communist fronts.

Are you then saying that it is another Marcos regime once again? If so, do you anticipate the leaders of the legal Left's going underground?

Yes and no. In terms of policies of repression from the state, certainly it is going to be very similar. In fact, it is very, very similar right now. As Renato Constantino Jr. puts it, it's like Mr. Marcos never really left.

Of course, we will bear the brunt of these attacks but the difference is that we are much stronger now, we are bigger.

The kind of life I am leading now is semi-clandestine. Yes, they are really doing everything to force us to go underground because once we go underground it will strengthen their position that we are illegal so that they can attack us with impunity. This is one of the policies of the United States, and Aquino has practically capitulated to that.

But President Aquino has been very categorical about not following US dictates.

But there's a lot of difference between rhetoric and practice. She can talk about not being dictated to and that's fine, in the same way that she can form investigation groups to investigate the murders.

I hate to admit it but Senator [Juan Ponce] Enrile happens to be right when he says [National Security Adviser Emanuel] Soriano comes out with irresponsible statements, [such as] that the Left wants to make a martyr out of [Polytechnic University] president Nemesio Prudente to embarrass the government. I think the government should really be embarrassed not because the Left wants to embarrass it but because the government has been making all these pronouncements about wanting to investigate yet it never comes out with concrete results. Soriano should take into account the government's incompetence, its inability to respond even to the basic demands of the people.

Frankly, I am shocked at that Supreme Court thing when they [police plainclothesmen] abducted Mrs. Felisa Mamola [a Leyte refugee] in front of the Supreme Court. You know what is happening now, they are violating with impunity what has universally been declared as sacred by the general public. The Supreme Court is supposed to be respected but there they are, violating the law in front of the Supreme Court justices. At least, Marcos was more conscious of his image.

Are you saying that the Aquino government is fiercer than the Marcos regime?

Not because of President Aquino herself but because she has capitulated to the US and the military. Maybe it's that she has taken her options to draw the source of strength for political survival from the US government, the military and other very conservative elements of Philippine society, such as big business. She has taken her options. Unfortunately, taking such options has contradicted and violated the aspirations of the Filipino people.

But President Aquino's supporters say that the Left never really gave her a chance, that you were very critical of her from the start.

During the EDSA upheaval, we were there but were never given recognition. When we marched to Mendiola [last February 1986], June Keithly and General [Fidel] Ramos were relentless in their attack against BAYAN. I cried during that time because I was so hurt by the way there were treating us. We were part of the whole thing.

When Aquino came out with her pronouncements of civil disobedience, we supported her. Even if we boycotted [the elections], in practice all our political campaigns were intended to topple Mr. Marcos.

When she released the political prisoners, we praised her to high heavens. But this is not to say that we shall not maintain our independence to criticize policies of government which we think are inimical to the interests of the people.

That the reason why Cory drifted to the Right is because the cause-oriented groups pushed her is [a claim which] puts the cause-oriented groups in a "damned if you do and damned if you don't" situation.

The instability of President Aquino's government has been accounted for, among others, by the restiveness of the military. Now that she has adopted the hard-line policy against insurgents and suspected rebels, don't you think that she has regained control of the military and that her government has become more stable?

It is now stable in the sense that it has attained a certain measure of political consolidation where President Aquino, in very close alliance with General Ramos, has emerged to head the dominant political camp in government. It is more stable now in the sense that President Aquino and General Ramos are busy consolidating their positions and their mass base in the AFP, in the civilian bureaucracy and, outside of government, big business.

Correspondingly, that weakens other threats. I am talking about the likes of Colonels Gregorio Honasan, Reynaldo Cabauatan. But I think that, to a certain extent, they have succeeded in putting these guys in place. General [Edgardo] Abenina of Cebu, for instance, was removed but his own men were put in place.

Isn't the stability of the Aquino government equivalent to the stability of the nation?

Not at all. For a time, in 1987, we saw the continued fractiousness within the military and within the civilian government, and between the civilian government and the military. But while that may have been prevalent in the early part of 1987, we now see a relative consolidation of the Aquino-Ramos camp, and the weakening of other camps.

Each camp wants to prove that it is more anti-communist than the other. It's as ridiculous as that. They also want to prove that they are in the best position to try to put together and reconcile all factional interests. All this is addressed to the US government.

I think that they are missing a very important point here. While their main agenda is to provide political stability, you can never impose political stability on a hungry, impoverished and restive population. Political stability is a natural offshoot of social stability. Unless a society is socially stable—which means that people have their jobs, that there is hope for progress, that there is going to be housing for the urban poor, lands will be distributed to the peasants—unless you can provide that, it will forever be politically unstable.

What are the hopes then, from your point of view, for economic progress?

None at all. All this euphoria of the businessmen? [Economist] Ding Lichauco was right when he said "Why do you trust the businessmen?" They are very impressionable. It was the business sector that hailed martial law as "an entry point for social reforms," and look what happened. It's the same business sector that is now hailing Cory Aquino's economic program, which means cracking down on workers for foreign capital. That's very shortsighted. If they will be honest with themselves, I think they will admit that their economic program is not long-term at all.

Given this bleak scenario, what do you think are the prospects for local elections? Don't you think you are slowly being eased out of the picture?

On, yes, we are being marginalized. The prospects for the local elections are very dim but it is not to say that we are not going to participate. Believe it or not, we will participate. My own position is that we should be supportive of people who are liberal-minded. I am strongly against fielding our own candidates because they will be sitting ducks.

What options then are left to the legal Left?

I think hardly any. It will have to come from the people to assert the options that we should take.

Don't you think that the mass movement is going to start from square one: alienation from the middle class and the business sector?

BAYAN will have to adjust to the new situation. It is not, however, entirely like the days when martial law was declared. I don't think I am being a cockeyed optimist in saying that the experience of martial rule and even the short experience of practically two years under the

Aquino regime have been able to raise the level of political consciousness of the people. These are our investments. As long as we are going to work things out well, we will survive.

Where are the leaders of the legal Left?

After Lean was killed, we haven't been sleeping in our houses. Even the BAYAN office was no longer safe. I've heard that we are on the hit list of the military.

The main threat to the people's democratic rights comes from the government itself, not from secondary forces, like the "ultra-Right." I don't call the ultra-Right anymore because I don't think there is a difference between the political sentiments and stand of the government and these guys [the militarists] except that these guys want to topple the present government.

Philippine News and Features

/09599

Weekly on Military Attempts To Generate Rebel Surrenders

42000204a Quezon City NATIONAL MIDWEEK in English 16 Dec 87 p 22

[Article by Horacio Marcos C. Morden: "What Price Amnesty?"]

[Text] Dinhi sa Dangcagan ang kulang mao na lang ang pagpakayab sa bandila sa komunista" [Here in Dangcagan the only thing lacking is the hoisting of the communist flag], declared an Army major in this southern Bukidnon town.

The military has become desperate for results. This was observable during a so-called civil-military assembly on September 15 at the town's old public market. The gathering, which was not without the usual homilies on anti-communism, was attended by roughly 1,000 residents, local public officials and officers from the 3/4 Brigade led by a Major Nacario. The major, who talked lengthily on the supposed experiences of socialist countries, seemed to have been to Siberia and other dreaded regions of the Eastern bloc. A Captain Capundag, one of the speakers, could have—if it were not for his fatigue outfit and sidearm—been mistaken for a fundamentalist preacher out to save Dangcagan from the clutches of communism.

After Capundag had explained Executive Order 103 (President Aquino's amnesty program), a soldier in plainclothes called on those who wanted to "surrender" to come forward. When nobody moved, the irate soldier boomed: "Those who will not surrender will be considered captured!" Another soldier took the microphone and said the military had a list of all suspected members and supports of the New People's Army. Still, nobody

moved. When the names of the suspects were about to be read, three persons stood up and said they were "surrendering voluntarily." One was a discharged CHDF member and the other a former security guard.

When no one else "volunteered" the suspects' names were read. The list included a prominent town official! Each one was given time to defend himself; each one denied the allegation.

Past noon, the people were allowed to go home. This writer approached another captain (not Capundag) and attempted to interview him. His answer was, "You better ask my superiors." However, he revealed only six true-blue NPAs in the entire province had surrendered. He lamented there had been no efforts to explain Executive Order 103 to the people: "Talagang talo kami sa propaganda" (we are really losing the propaganda war).

Six days later, Brig. Gen. Mariano Adalem, Deputy SOUTHCOM Commander for Region 10, and Brig. Gen. Manuel Dizon, 3/4 Brigade Commander, arrived in Dangcagan to grace the surrender of—believe it or not—300 "rebels." Vice-Governor Rube Gamalo, a FLAG lawyer, was present, too, and acknowledged them as "former armed NPAs." They paraded around the town holding aloft placards bearing anticommunist slogans.

However, reports reaching the Bukidnon office of the Task Force Detainees said the so-called surrenderees were plain farmers who were forced to attend a three-day seminar, the subject of which was not divulged. During the seminar, members of the Catholic Women's League (CWL) and some barangay officials served as cooks—without compensation.

Rumors were deliberately spread that Fr. Nadz Gamalo, the parish priest, and OIC-Mayor Hugo Cabudoy had surrendered during the September 15 assembly. On that day, Fr. Gamalo was in Davao City and the mayor merely gave a talk on the need for unity.

The same atmosphere of fear has prevailed sitio Bucu, Dagatkidavao, Valencia town. Several members of the militant Kilusang Magbubukid sa Bukidnon (KMB) were accused by the 16th IB PA of being NPA members. Many of them have evacuated to undisclosed places after they were summoned to the detachment located in the sitio itself.

Sometime in the last week of July, Bucu residents were forced to surrender. The event was witnessed by local mediamen. Ronaldo Canoy, 28, who was arrested earlier, was told by the military to surrender as a sympathizer and to admit having cooked food for the rebels every time they visited the place. Present, too, was a captured NPA amazon turned military propagandist.

A dilemma now haunts the people of Dangcagan and Valencia. Whether they "surrender" or not, there is no assurance that the harassment will stop. The death of two

youths allegedly at the hands of the military are still fresh in their minds. Last June 5, Jerry Bracero, 16, was gunned down at the public plaza in front of so many people. Then on July 21, a breadwinner, Wenceslao Portolaso, 21, was killed in an alleged encounter. Later, however, the soldiers said Portolaso was just mistaken for an NPA. They offered P1,000 to his mother, who refused the amount. "It cannot bring my son back to life," she told the soldiers.

The latest blatant act of harassment was the raid on September 25 of the Dangcagan-based Magdadaro Foundation, Inc., a research institution for farmers. The soldiers led by 2Lt. Roberto Dumalahay assaulted MFI's Training Center at two a.m. and searched the building for alleged hidden firearms. They left after two hours of fruitless search.

Reports added that the military had questioned the presence of a Dutch couple in MFI.

It seems the military has become puzzled as to who its real enemies are. Judging from events no distinction has been made between combatants and noncombatants. "Those who are not with us are against us," so the line goes. Such bigotry has disrupted the people's tranquil existence. In fact, the farmers have a self-imposed curfew, if only to escape being tagged as rebels.

These people are communists? To this accusation Valentina Buenaventura of the Concerned Parents for Justice and Peace has this to say: "We are not communists. We are God-fearing and peace-loving Filipinos. We don't want to become agents of intrigues or be used as counter-insurgency informers. We condemn the military who wanted to ram 'amnesty' down our unwilling throats."

It is an "amnesty" which the people never asked for. But there is hardly time for choices.

/09599

Anti-Monarchy Leaflets Elicit Army, Press Reaction

Text of Military Appeal

42070078 Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai
9 Dec 87 pp 1, 20

[Unattributed report: "Four Branches of Service Can't Bear It Any Longer, Order Action Taken in Case of Anti-Monarchy Leaflets"]

[Text] Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department issued an urgent statement on 8 December. This was broadcast on radio and television nationwide that evening. The statement said that everything possible will be done to smash the anti-monarchy movement.

This statement said: "Fellow countrymen, during the celebration of the king's 60th birthday on 5 December 1987, the Thai people showed their great loyalty to the head of the nation. This tremendous expression of loyalty and solidarity greatly impressed the Thai people and foreigners and will be recorded in history.

"Fellow countrymen, at the same time as the people showed their great respect for the monarchy, enemies of the nation, in the form of people who would destroy the monarchy, tried continuously to destroy national security. They took this opportunity to try and tarnish the image of the monarchy and reduce its importance in order to destroy people's confidence in the monarchy. They spread malicious stories about the king and other members of the royal family. As a part of the state apparatus that is directly responsible for protecting the monarchy as stipulated in the constitution, the military cannot sit by idly in the face of such aggressive actions, which are troubling the king. The military has shown great patience in order to keep from disturbing the celebration in honor of the king's birthday.

"The military realizes that the security of the monarchy is the security of the nation. The factor necessary to preserve national security is solidarity among the people of the country. The military is firmly committed to protecting and defending the monarchy. The activities of those who want to destroy the monarchy, whether distributing documents or making slanderous statements about the royal family, will hurt the people of the country. Thus, the military cannot sit by idly. We will take every measure necessary to smash this movement completely.

"The military implores people to remain alert and not be misled by these malicious statements about the monarchy. We ask people to cooperate by informing government officials about these activities and by stopping the spread of rumors. This statement has been issued to inform everyone of this matter."

Gen Chawalit Yongcharyut, the acting supreme commander and RTA CINC, told reporters that the military wanted to issue a statement several days ago. But because of the celebration on the occasion of the king's birthday, it refrained from doing so temporarily.

The RTA CINC said that these leaflets attacking the monarchy are being distributed by certain people who want to destroy national security. They are showing great disrespect to the monarchy, an institution cherished by the people.

"They have acted very audaciously. The military cannot allow this. We will retaliate strongly and take resolute action. Those involved in this should stop for the sake of tranquility. We have already begun to take action. We have clues as to the identity of those involved and so it shouldn't be too much longer before action is taken against them," said Gen Chawalit in conclusion.

ISOC Gathering Evidence

Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 10 Dec 87 pp 1, 20

[Unattributed report: "Those Behind the Leaflets Said To Be People at a Teachers College and Communist Terrorists; ISOC Will Arrest These Two Groups of People"]

[Text] A senior official in the Government House talked with NAE0 NA about the anti-monarchy movement. He said that the Internal Security Operations Command [ISOC], which is responsible for suppressing the anti-monarchy leaflets, has discovered clues about the identity of those involved. The Intelligence Subcommittee of the ISOC has said that this is the work of a group of Participants in the Development of Thailand. People at a teachers college are involved, too.

The same official said that the ISOC Intelligence Subcommittee, which is composed of representatives from the Police Department and the army, navy, and air force, is gathering evidence in order to take action against both these groups.

From the Police Department, there is a report stating that even though Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department have issued a statement against these leaflets, anti-monarchy leaflets are still being circulated. But those doing this are now being more careful. They are no longer distributing these leaflets in such a brazen manner as before.

The contents of these leaflets have changed, and the style of writing is different. The writing now has a much more respectful tone, and the statements are more pointed. This is different from the first leaflets, which used very unsuitable language.

A news source in the Police Department said that Police Gen Phao Sarasin, the director-general of the Police Department, issued an order appointing Police Lt Gen

Soem Charurat, the deputy director-general of the Police Department for special affairs, head of a Police Department task force to suppress those distributing these leaflets. Police officials nationwide must investigate this and take resolute action against those responsible.

Besides this, the director-general of the Police Department appointed Police Maj Gen Phisak Woramit, the deputy commissioner of the Central Investigation Bureau, and Police Col Prachum Santiwasa, the deputy commander of the Special Branch Police, as the Police Department's representatives in coordinating things with the ISOC. They will serve as the Police Department's representatives on the ISOC Intelligence Subcommittee.

The news source said that the Police Department is very concerned about people unknowingly becoming involved in this. People should not distribute leaflets. If they are given leaflets, they should destroy them or turn them over to police officials. If they make copies and pass these on to others, they are just as guilty as the perpetrators. These people must be punished severely.

Gen Prachuap Suntharangkun, the minister of interior, told reporters that intelligence units are now working hard to smash this anti-monarchy movement.

Mr Phisan Mulasatsathon, the under secretary of interior, said that police officials are searching for the culprits. Arrests are expected in the near future.

That same day at the Office of the Army Secretary, Maj Gen Narudon Detchapradit, the army secretary, told reporters that at a meeting of units directly subordinate to the army held on 7 December, Gen Chawalit Yongchayut, the RTA CINC, ordered commanders at all echelons to explain matters to their subordinates and have them report anything suspicious to their superior officers.

"The police have said that they now have evidence concerning the source of these leaflets," said Maj Gen Narudon.

An official in the Government House added that Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, is very concerned about this.

Paramilitary Forces Involved in Suppression *Bangkok NAEON in Thai 11 Dec 87 pp 1, 20*

[Excerpt] Police Gen Phao Sarasin, the director-general of the Police Department, was interviewed by reporters at the Army Golf Course on 10 December about the effort to suppress those who are distributing anti-monarchy leaflets. He said that the police are taking resolute action on this matter. This is the direct responsibility of the police. The police are cooperating with the army and other units to suppress this. The police are giving special attention to this in order to arrest the culprits.

"All police officials are cooperating closely in an effort to arrest the culprits. This includes the Suppression Division, the Special Branch Police, and local police officials," said the director-general of the Police Department.

A reporter asked whether any arrests have been made. Police Gen Phao said that action is being taken and that officials have discovered the source of these leaflets. But he can't say anything about this, because the culprits would escape. As for the intention of these leaflets, police officials will discuss this again.

When asked whether one or several groups are behind this, the director-general said that he couldn't answer that, because it is a government secret. But he said that no one in uniform is involved as some have said. As for how long it will be before arrests are made, Police Gen Phao said that that is impossible to say. But every effort is being made, and good results have been achieved. Because in the past few days, no new leaflets have been circulated. The only ones left are ones that were distributed earlier.

The director-general of the Police Department said that the police have also asked the Village Scouts to cooperate by serving as the eyes and ears of the police, particularly in highly populated areas and trade centers, which are areas where those with bad intentions frequently distribute leaflets.

"The police are being very careful. We have seized many leaflets."

A high-level news source in the Operations Center of the Village Scouts talked with NAEON about the Village Scouts cooperating with the police in order to suppress those who are circulating these leaflets. He said that because the Village Scouts have clearly shown great reverence for the monarchy, the police contacted them and asked them to cooperate in order to locate the source of these leaflets and arrest those responsible. These leaflets were distributed very quickly.

As a result of the Village Scouts cooperating with the police just after leaflets began appearing, it has been learned that the leaflets have been circulated in an organized manner and that several groups are involved. As for the reports that this is the work of former terrorists, or Participants in the Development of Thailand as they are called, there is still no hard evidence to support this. There are several groups that have done things that have focused attention on the Participants in the Development of Thailand. This is because it isn't possible to determine for sure how many of these people have really had a change of heart.

However, the same news source said that the actions of those circulating these leaflets are in accord with the urban struggle of those who are opposed to the monarchy and a democratic form of government.

"The duty of the Village Scouts is to tell the police where leaflets are being distributed. If a village scout sees someone distributing leaflets, he can inform the police directly or he can inform the Village Scouts Center so that further action can be taken."

Army Chided for Suppressing 'Subversion'

Bangkok *SIAM RAY* in Thai 10 Dec 87 p 9

[Thoughts From the News column by Prachuap Thong-urati: "The Military's Statement"]

[Text] On the evening of 8 December, Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department issued a joint statement over radio and television. The statement can be summarized as follows:

Enemies of the nation in the form of an anti-monarchy movement have tried to tarnish the image of the monarchy and reduce its importance in order to reduce people's faith in the monarchy. They have made harmful statements about the king and other members of the royal family.

As part of the state apparatus, the military is directly responsible for protecting the monarchy as stipulated in the constitution. Thus, the military cannot sit by idly in the face of such aggressive actions that are troubling the king. The military will do everything possible to smash this movement completely. The people should not be misled by these malicious statements about the monarchy. They should cooperate by informing officials about these activities and stopping the spread of rumors.

There have been reports that the Police Department has ordered the Commissioner's Office of the Metropolitan Police and the Special Branch Police to locate the source of these leaflets as quickly as possible. Since leaflets first began appearing in various locations, from examining the leaflets that have been circulated, it appears that about 10 sets of leaflets have been distributed. The contents of the leaflets are all similar. Police officials have found clues that are expected to lead to those behind this.

Prior to this, some newspapers published reports about people printing leaflets critical of some members of the royal family and about those responsible for distributing these leaflets. The police searched several places, including both public and private units. They arrested people at several public units who were making Xerox copies. Thus, it is understood that the police, who are directly responsible, are taking action and will soon inform the people.

A fact that no one can dispute is that the king is a highly respected figure. He has the loyalty of people throughout the country. Few other kings have enjoyed such great loyalty. This is evident from the fact that the people

enthusiastically held huge celebrations in honor of the king's 60th birthday. No criticism or propaganda could shake the people's faith in and loyalty to the king.

The fact that Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department issued a joint statement saying that they will do everything possible to stop those activities damaging to the monarchy and royal family shows their great loyalty to the monarchy. In this respect, they should be supported. But at the same time, there are some interesting points that I think should be mentioned in order to ensure that the military and police achieve good results in carrying out their duties and to prevent people from thinking that they are overstepping the bounds of their authority and infringing on the rights and freedoms of the people.

Even though the constitution states that the military is responsible for protecting the monarchy, that does not mean that the military can take action using force—even if it is part of the state apparatus. Because if you look at the constitutional articles concerned, you will see that this subject is discussed in the section on state policy. Article 56 states that the state must organize military forces in order to maintain the independence and security of the state and defend the nation's interests. Military forces are to be used in fighting or waging war to defend the monarchy, to suppress rebellion and insurrection, to preserve the security of the state, and to develop the country.

It's true that the military is part of the state apparatus. But if it is to carry out a task in accord with this article of the constitution, it cannot act until it has received an order from the government. And in taking action, it must adhere to the law. Just because the military feels that some action might affect the monarchy does not mean that it can use force or take action independently without having to wait for an order from the government.

As for the government ordering the military to take action, this must be a lawful order. In the present case, this action does not seem to be supported by any law. If they really want to take action, they will have to rely on the power of the Communist Activities Suppression Command. Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, who is the director of this command, must be the one who issues the order. But the printing of such leaflets is more a violation of the country's criminal laws than a violation of the Anti-Communist Law.

One final observation about this constitutional article is that this article states "in order to protect the monarchy." In using military forces, the state must adhere strictly to the provisions of the constitution. That is, the action must be taken to protect the institution, not an individual. For example, if someone wants to change our form of government to a democracy without a king at the head, the military has a duty to protect the monarchy. Because the intention of that person is to do away with the monarchy. But if the person does something else,

such as slander the king or other members of the royal family, charges must be filed in order to punish the person in accord with the law. Military forces or means not permitted by law can't be used. And what is important is that the institution and the person are separate. If they are considered to be one and the same, this could cause much confusion.

Actually, the police, who are a unit of the government and who are directly responsible for this, are already investigating this matter. The police are taking action in the name of the government. Thus, even though the military's statement to the effect that it will do everything possible to stop these activities shows that it is loyal to the monarchy, some people may view this as an insult to the people. That is, this can be viewed as tantamount to saying that the people are not sufficiently loyal if a few leaflets can shake their loyalty.

If that is not the military's intention, I hope that in the future the military will weigh the good and bad points carefully before issuing a statement. The loyalty that the Thai people have to the king is a pure feeling, and their loyalty is quite secure. They do not have any secret personal motive such as wanting to gain a position or rank.

Columnist Views Army Zeal on Leaflets

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 10 Dec 87 p 3

[Slap in the Face column: "Institution and Government"]

[Text] Frankly, I was startled when I heard the march played just before the 2000 hours news program on 8 December 1987. Furthermore, the joint statement issued by Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department was read in a very stern manner, which startled me even more. Listening to the statement, my feeling was that "this should have been done a long time ago." But when they said that that was a time of joy and that they had not wanted to spoil the happiness of the masses, I agreed.

I will summarize this statement briefly for those of you who may not have heard it. Those of you who have heard it will already understand. Supreme Command Headquarters and the army, navy, air force, and Police Department said that enemies of the nation in the form of an anti-monarchy movement are trying to destroy the nation's highest institution by making false charges.

"These activities are hurting the people of the country. Thus, the military cannot sit by idly. We will do everything possible to smash this movement completely," said the statement. And Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, the RTA CINC, said that "we have clues and so it shouldn't be too much longer before resolute action is taken."

Yes, resolute action must be taken. This cannot be allowed to continue. But one question that troubles me is why the government of Gen Prem Tinsulanon did not take action to stop this or identify the culprits at the very beginning and why it has allowed this to continue up to the present. It finally reached the point where the "military" could no longer put up with this and had to take the lead in opposing those who want to destroy the nation and our highest institution.

I am not trying to pick a quarrel. Everyone from street hawkers to arms dealers has been talking about this for a long time. They are very concerned about this and wonder what the government will do and which people will be punished. But nothing has been done. There have been rumors that the four government parties have done nothing but sit around eating and drinking and talking about whether or not to reshuffle the cabinet. The MPs in the various parties have concerned themselves mainly with making preparations for taking trips abroad while parliament is in recess. I don't know where they obtained all their money.

The main duty of the military is to defend the country. The government's duty is to administer the country so that there is peace and prosperity. Whenever something bothers the people, an investigation must be conducted and steps must be taken to find and punish the culprits as quickly as possible. Why did I say that the "culprits must be arrested as quickly as possible?" Because there is nothing very secret about this movement. The state units responsible have much great capabilities. They are on a much higher level. But at the bus and taxi stops, markets, and other public places, these idiotic people continue to carry on their activities unhampered. And not for just an hour or two but for the whole day. And so why haven't officials been able to identify them yet?

Nevertheless, I am still convinced that this government has great capabilities and is to be trusted. The question is, how is it using its capabilities?

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Students Oppose Chavalit Degree

42000198f Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 17 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] Students at Ramkhamhaeng University yesterday announced strong opposition to an Economics Faculty plan to award a doctorate to Army Commander Gen Chavalit Yongchaiyudh.

The Student Union said Gen Chavalit had made no outstanding contribution to the university.

Union President Somboon Chavana said the faculty, which planned to make the award between 5-12 January, had been forced to drop an identical plan 2 years ago amid student opposition.

Faculty Deputy Dean Pratharn Boonserm said the award had been proposed to university authorities was still being considered.

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**MP Surin Comments on Electoral Law Change,
Army in Politics**

42070064 Bangkok KHAO PHISSET in Thai
18-24 Nov 87 pp 11-14

[Interview with Surin Phitsuwan, a Democrat Party MP from Nakhon Sithammarat Province: "One Man, One Vote, One Power"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] The following questions and answers are from an interview with Surin Phitsuwan, a Democrat Party MP from Nakhon Sithammarat Province, the secretary to the Speaker of the House, and a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee. He is a young politician who has been accepted quite well by scholars, the mass media, and many other groups. Surin talked to KHAO PHISSET on a variety of subjects and gave us his views on the political situation in Thailand in both the short term and the long term.

[Question] In the present political situation, which is not expected to change, there is one thing that is very interesting and that is the military's proposal to change the election law to have a one man, one vote system. What do you think of this?

[Answer] Every faction, both in and out of parliament, wants to support parliament and help it survive for a while longer. No one wants parliament to be dissolved during its present session. Thus, people may begin talking about revising the election law in order to pave the way for doing this during the next session of parliament, that is, in April 1988, instead of trying to do this during this session. What is interesting is why the military has proposed a one-man, one-vote system. I don't understand what their real objective is in proposing this revision. But I am sure that it has something to do with wanting to weaken the political party system. This revision will give greater power to the bureaucracy while weakening and destroying the unity of the political parties. First, the one-man, one-vote system will make it more difficult for the parties to control the politicians in each of the electoral zones. Even if a politician runs for election in the name of a certain political party, he will tend to feel that he won because of his personal base of support in that zone. This feeling will affect his acceptance of the party's role. Politicians who win election will put the emphasis on their own role in that zone. That will directly affect the unity of the political parties. Second, the electoral zones, with one MP per zone, will be smaller. This will tend to increase the role of the influential people in the localities. Three subdistrict chiefs will have more power than one MP. The provincial councils will have influence over the MPs. And based on my experiences, what is most important is that with this

legal base, the regular government officials will play a greater role in stipulating the positions of the MPs in each of the zones. The under secretary of interior alone may be able to make use of his powers based on the law to benefit or harm the election in each zone. The bureaucracy's power will increase, and it will be in a better position to determine the election results. This is in accord with the desires of the bureaucracy, which wants to control the political parties and weaken the political party system. It is in accord with the wishes of the Reserves Center for National Security and the Revolutionary Council, and it is in accord with the movement to green the northeast. Thus, what frightens me is that the one-man, one-vote system will lead in the end lead to "one absolute power."

[Question] Even if we feel that the one-man, one-vote system will enable bureaucrats to interfere more in the elections and give local influential groups a chance to determine who will be elected MP, the problem is that the present system cannot eliminate interference by regular government officials and must rely on the local influences. In view of your opposition to the one-man, one-vote system at a time when the present system is imperfect, besides voicing opposition, do you have any new proposals to suggest that will help improve or develop our democratic system?

[Answer] It's true that the present system is not perfect. If you want me to, I can say a few things about what needs to be done even though my proposals would be difficult or even impossible to implement at the present time. I would like to propose two paths for developing democracy. First is development from the top. Development of democracy from the top refers to revising the law to have an elected prime minister. Second is development from the bottom. This refers to promulgating laws that will lead to the development of democracy at the grass roots. The subdistrict councils can become juristic persons. Or there can be elections at lower levels in order to give real democratic power to the people. Or the two can be combined. That is, we can develop democracy from the top and from the bottom simultaneously. If the military really wants to develop the democratic system or democratic forces, why doesn't it propose such things? This would definitely lead to development. Why does it avoid the subject of having an elected prime minister or giving real power to the subdistrict councils? Why does it have to become involved in the one-man, one-vote issue? What are we supposed to think? How can we not be suspicious about what is behind their proposals for developing democracy?

[Question] Actually, MPs should be able to implement your proposals for developing democracy from the top and bottom by revising the laws. Or such proposals could be made immediately. There is no need to wait for the military to propose things. In view of the fact that the election system has remained intact for so long, why haven't these proposals been implemented?

[Answer] First, I would like to say that politicians have not been able to establish themselves firmly because of the immediate situation and various urgent problems, including problems within the party, problems concerning joining the government, and problems of being an opposition party. But the most important thing is that today, when we join the government or become a government party, with whom are we cooperating? We are cooperating with the regular government officials and their parties. We don't have a chance to propose things to which they or the bureaucracy is opposed or which would harm their interests. This is very difficult at a time when we are working with a prime minister whose power base is the regular government officials. The prime minister definitely doesn't want these proposals implemented.

[Question] In short, are you saying that the political parties are now struggling against or competing with the bureaucracy and that the prime minister is the representative of the bureaucracy?

[Answer] Definitely. Today, the political parties are being swallowed up by the regular government officials. They are coming under the power of these officials. Today, the statements made by the various ministers have all been prepared for them by the bureaucrats in their ministries. At present, the status of each of the ministers is that of "first under secretary." Our political party system is still very weak. It will take a long time to stimulate democratic awareness in order to develop democracy. Or else this will be swallowed up by the bureaucracy or administrative apparatus controlled by the bureaucrats.

[Question] What is your view on the role of senior military officers such as Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, particularly his views on developing democracy?

[Answer] I think that Gen Chawalit is a very bold person. Regardless of where his ideas lead in the end, the interesting thing is that he has expressed his views forthrightly. And in expressing his views, he has exhibited a more democratic attitude than officers in the past. Even though I do not agree with all his ideas and have opposed his ideas, I think that many of Gen Chawalit's ideas are very interesting. This struggle against him is fun, because it is an ideological struggle that is taking place within the framework of democracy. I think that he is a very intelligent man. In the future, there is a good chance that he will decide to seek power legitimately. I don't think that he will side with the old power system, which has failed to solve the country's problems. I think that the path that he chooses will be in accord with the path of democracy.

[Question] As a member of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, what do you think about Gen Chawalit's views on the Cambodia problem? He said that that is a civil war, a conflict between the communist factions.

[Answer] (laughs) I think that that was probably a slip of the tongue similar to that in Chiang Mai when he talked about a peaceful revolution. I don't think that he meant to say anything contrary to the present policy. Looking at the policy of Air Chief Marshal Sittthi Sawetsila, such a statement seems rather dull-witted. But Gen Chawalit may be zigzagging. Foreign friends with whom I have talked were shocked by his statement. ASEAN was shocked that he called this a civil war. The United States is perplexed. But most people probably aren't too concerned about this, because they know that Gen Chawalit will soon visit the Soviet Union.

[Question] In view of your answer, it seems that you are trying to view Gen Chawalit with understanding.

[Answer] (laughs) That's right.

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Corruption in Weapons Purchases Brings Press Reaction

Editorial Cites 10 Percent Kickback

42070061 Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 15 Nov 87 p 3

[Editorial: "Prohibit Associating With Merchants"]

[Excerpts] There are reports that the RTA CINC has prohibited senior officers from associating with arms dealers. This probably refers to war weapons that the army purchases. This order points out a problem of trading with government units. Regardless of which unit is involved, dealers must become close to officials in that unit.

Regardless of whether it is purchases by government officials or bids on government projects, there have long been rumors that if you want to win a bid or sell something to the government, you have to pay a kickback of at least 10 percent.

We believe that the government units have already issued strict regulations. But don't forget that these regulations have been issued by people who are involved in making profits. Thus, regardless of what regulations are issued, they always contain loopholes. One of the ways to get around these regulations is to have inside information on the needs of the units, the qualities of the goods, the types, and the qualities stipulated.

Besides the fact that this has spawned corruption in government circles, with officials unable to fix the blame, this is destroying the country without people even being aware of it. This is an evil example, but it is praised by society in general.

Demands End to Dealer-General Ties

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 14 Nov 87 p 6

[Editorial: "The Army and Arms Dealers"]

[Excerpts] The strong warning given by Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the RTA CINC, about ties between arms dealers and army officials is more than just a statement of principle that reflects the army's line and policy on purchasing weapons. What is very important is that it is a special warning to merchants who sell weapons to the army and to officials subordinate to the army. These people should heed this warning and conduct themselves properly.

In short, even though the warning given by the RTA CINC was couched in terms of a general principle, this warning does have a particular target in mind. Because when government units and merchants, regardless of whether it is arms dealers or other types of merchants, get together to buy and sell goods, it is usually lower-level officers who make contact and coordinate things. But the final decision always rests with senior officials. Thus, this warning is aimed at senior officers. The RTA CINC is trying to set a good example.

In the past, the relationship between "certain" military officers and "certain" arms dealers was very frightening. And it wasn't just arms dealers who were involved. Certain major contractors had close ties to certain senior military officers, too. Several years ago, while on a trip abroad, a former senior army commander became involved in a scandal involving foreign prostitutes and a socialite. A multinational communications company and a large domestic construction company were involved in this.

It's good that Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut has openly shown that he is an honest person in order to prevent people from making criticisms because of a misunderstanding. He has done this by proposing arms trading principles. He has said that this must be done on a government-to-government basis instead of going through a representative or agent. At the same time, personal ties between arms dealers and officials subordinate to the army will be cut completely.

Stingray Purchase Irregularities

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 20 Nov 87 p 6

[Editorial: "The Stingray Operation"]

[Excerpts] On 17 November, the cabinet passed a resolution approving the transfer of Mr Metta Phumchusi, the deputy director of the Bureau of the Budget. He has been appointed an inspector attached to the Office of the Prime Minister. This was done in accord with the proposal submitted by Squadron Leader Prasong Sun-siri, the secretary to the Office of the Prime Minister. This has created problems for others besides Mr Metta, who was suddenly transferred while on an official trip abroad. This has also affected those in the army involved in the purchase of Stingray tanks.

Thai- and foreign-language newspaper reports from the Government House have stated that the army paid 30 percent too much for the Stingray tanks. It purchased 106 tanks for \$160 million, or approximately 4 billion baht. And it paid a commission, or agent's fee, of 300-400 million baht. In its 20 November issue, THAI RAT cited a news source close to the prime minister, who said that Mr Metta Phumchusi was not transferred because of any involvement in paying the commission on the purchase of the Stingray tanks. He was transferred because he had openly facilitated this. And during his trip abroad, the arms dealers did everything they could to facilitate his trip.

It is essential that this scandal not be covered up. The people must be told the truth about what happened. If the team at the Government House is certain that the documents that they have are correct, they must establish a committee to investigate this and use this experience to plug the loopholes in trading activities between government units and merchants. Once this lays a foundation based on doing things honestly, units such as the army that are patriotic and that have a sense of responsibility will definitely cooperate.

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POLITICAL

Religious Problem, Agitprop Work Concerning Science-Based Atheism

42000209b Hanoi TRIET HOC in English
Sep 87 p 181

[Article by Quang Huy and Phong Hien: "The Religious Problem and Agitprop Work Concerning Science-Based Atheism in Vietnam at Present"]

[Text] A number of religions are practised in Vietnam. At present generally speaking, religious believers obey the law of the State. The influence of past generations of pro-imperialist reactionary elements who wished to use religion to oppose revolution has been eliminated in the main. Given this situation, the authors oppose the following tendencies: on the one hand, the voluntarist view which recommends the abolition of all religions regardless of the religious feeling of the believers; and on the other, the rightist confused view about the nature of religion. They recommend that a science-based world outlook be infused into the masses in order to pull them away from religious mysticism. It is high time, so they think, atheistic education was put on the agenda.

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Lenin's Theory on Unity of Opposites, Vietnamese Revolution at Present

42000209c Hanoi TRIET HOC in English
Sep 1987 p 181

[Article by Pham Ngoc Quang: "Lenin's Theory on the Unity of Opposites and the Vietnamese Revolution at Present"]

[Text] In studying problems of socialist construction in Soviet Russia Lenin applied the theory of contradictions to the period of transition to socialism. He analysed the contradictions emerging in this stage and created the doctrine according to which the conscious combination of opposites is both the form and the result of the struggle between them.

The application of this doctrine in the period of transition to socialism in Vietnam will lead to correct measures for the effective combination of opposites contained in a series of real contradictions. This will create favourable conditions for socialist construction.

The author stresses the fact that Lenin's scientific doctrine should not be confused with an eclecticism which seeks to reduce the contradictions.

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Article on Dialectics of New Economic Policy Discussed

42000209d Hanoi TRIET HOC in English
Sep 1987 p 182

[Article by Nguyen Dang Quang: "The Dialectics of the New Economic Policy and Our Time"]

[Text] The author analyses the universal value, i.e., the dialectics of the New Economic Policy (NEP). Soon after the triumph of the October Revolution, Lenin put forward ideas related to NEP. In 1921, this policy was officially implemented initially serving to check economic crisis before becoming part of the strategy to build socialism in Russia. Regrettably, an end was put to it in the late 1920's.

However, historical experience and present facts have proved that NEP is not to be viewed as a temporary economic policy. It charts the way for the transition to socialism in countries with under-developed or backward economics and cultures. NEP also correctly predicts the objective dialectics of developed socialism and that the period of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale.

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Chronology, 15 July-14 August 1987

42000182 Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English
Oct 87 p 32

[Text]

July

16-17. Hanoi: Holding of an Asian-Pacific Trade Union Seminar on Education and Employment for Young Workers.

17. Hanoi: Holding of a grand meeting to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam-Laos Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation (18 July 1977-18 July 1987).

17-19. Casablanca: A CPV delegation led by Phan Minh Tanh, member of the Party Central Committee and Head of its Commission for Mass Work, attends the Fourth Congress of the Progressive and Socialist Party of Morocco.

19-26. Ho Chi Minh City: Holding of the Second Phu Dong National Sports Festival. (See article on page 30)

20. A delegation of the Ministry of Soil Improvement and Water Conservation of the Soviet Union led by Minister N.Ph. Vasiliev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, concludes its official visit to Vietnam begun on 14 July 1987.

20-24. A delegation of the Japanese Kyodo News Agency headed by its President and Director General Shinji Sakai, visits Vietnam.

24. Nguyen Minh Phuong, Vietnamese Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, presents his credentials signed by Vo Chi Cong, Chairman of the SRV State Council to Ulanhu, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China.

25. Moscow: E.A. Shevardnadze, Political Bureau member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Foreign Minister, receives Nguyen Manh Cam, member of the CPV Central Committee and Vietnamese Ambassador to the Soviet Union. E.A. Shevardnadze expresses warm support for the positive actions undertaken by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam with a view to making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

26. President of the SRV Council of State, Vo Chi Cong, sends a message of greeting to the conference of Heads of State and government of member countries of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), reaffirming the constant and resolute support of the people and Government of the SRV for the struggle of the African peoples for independence and development.

* The daily Nhan Dan reports the inauguration in Ho Chi Minh City of the Huong Duong (Sunflower) satellite earth station, a project jointly built by the Overseas Telecommunications Commission of Australia and the Vietnam Postal Service.

27-29. Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Professor Dr Mochtar Kusuma-Atmadja, pays an official friendship visit to Vietnam. (See Press Communiqué on page 24).

27 July-3 August. A Vietnamese table-tennis team takes part in the International Table-Tennis Contest sponsored by the journal Olympic Panorama and held in Irkutsk (Soviet Union).

28 July-6 August. A delegation of the Soviet State Committee for Agriculture and Industry led by Minister E.I. Sidenko, its First Vice-Chairman, visits Vietnam.

30-31. Ho Chi Minh City: Holding of a conference by the Ministry of Health to review the results of the expanded vaccination programme for 1985-1986.

31 July-3 August. Phnom Penh: Holding of the eighth meeting of the Kampuchea-Laos-Vietnam Commission for Economic and Cultural Cooperation.

August

1-3. John Vessey, special envoy of the US President visits Vietnam where he holds talks on humanitarian issues with Vietnamese authorities.

6-13. A delegation of the Lao Ministry of Commerce, led by Vice-Minister Changheng Bounnaphon, pays a friendship visit to Vietnam.

7. Ho Chi Minh City: Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Hung receives the president, of Overseas Vietnamese Associations in West Berlin, Belgium, Canada, the FRG and France.

11. Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Hung receives a delegation of the Indian Company CIMMCO International led by Guayon, its Executive President, coming to Vietnam to attend the third session of the Vietnam-CIMMCO Coordination Committee.

12. Phnom Penh: Opening of the conference of deputy foreign ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam.

13. Hanoi: Holding of a grand meeting to mark the 40th Independence Day of the Republic of India (15 August 1947-15 August 1987).

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ECONOMIC

Development of Scientific, Technological Cooperation With USSR

42000210a Hanoi THE VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONS in English No 6, Nov-Dec 87 pp 10-11

[Article by Lai Nguyen Tuong: "The Development of Vietnam-USSR Scientific and Technological Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] The cooperation in training scientific and technical cadres has gained in scope and in strength. Embarking on the 1986-1990 plan, we have at our disposal 274,000 scientific and technical cadres including 4,500 Doctors and Master of Science of different branches of knowledge. A great number of these cadres have been trained in the Soviet Union. In the trade union domain alone, since 1973, 224 persons belonging to such branches as labour economy, tourism, social security and mass culture have been sent to the Soviet Union for studies at the higher trade union school: out of 130 cadres who graduated in the Soviet Union, there are 8 Masters of Economics and History Science.

At present, 4,600 Vietnamese students are studying at 150 schools in 33 cities of the Soviet Union. Apart from training, the Soviet Union has regularly sent its experienced cadres to Vietnam for help and assistance. Since 1979, we have invited many experienced Soviet experts in economic and social management to come to Vietnam for giving lectures in crash courses opened by various branches. Nearly ten courses have been so far organized with over 2,000 trainees consisting of managers of enterprises and leading cadres of ministries and branches.

From 1981, every year, the Soviet Union has received thousands of Vietnamese youths, men and women alike, for vocational training and working in factories and enterprises of the Soviet Union. After finishing the courses, tens of thousands of youths have returned to their country to resume their productive work at factories, enterprises, state farms and construction sites throughout the country. For the past 30 years and more, the Soviet Union has trained for Vietnam 27,600 skilled workers and teachers for vocational training of 70 different branches of learning. This is a contingent of skilled workers which can make effective contributions to the country's economic development and to the development of the national technology as well.

For our part, in recent years, we have trained for the Soviet Union a number of cadres with university and post-university level education in such subjects as: Vietnamese language, Vietnamese literature and history...

The scientific and technological cooperation constitutes a part of our Party's and State's foreign policy. The work of further strengthening the all-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union is regarded as a keystone in the foreign policy of the communist Party of Vietnam. Based on this strategic line, the Vietnam-USSR economic scientific and technological cooperation is expected to offer fine prospects and good opportunities for the development of science and technology.

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Vietnamese Weavers Training in Soviet Union

42000210c Hanoi THE VIETNAMESE TRADE UNIONS in English No 6, Nov-Dec 87 pp 13-14

[Article by Cao Thang: "Vietnamese Weavers in the Soviet Union"]

[Text] In recent years, many Vietnamese weavers have been sent to the Soviet Union for further training.

They came from many provinces of Vietnam. How do they study and work there? What conditions have they obtained from the Soviet textile mills to facilitate their training?

To understand this question, we have visited a number of textile factories where young Vietnamese serve their apprenticeship.

At the Lenin cotton mill in Glakhoski, on the outskirts of Moscow, there are now 600 Vietnamese workers learning the weaver's trade. G.M. Odelinova, vice-director of the factory, told us: "We reserve for them a nice building where beside their dormitories, there is a classroom for learning Russian, a canteen, a dispensary and a library. To decorate this building we have consulted the books and reviews speaking of Vietnam to arrange the interior of the house in a Vietnamese style so that our friends feel that they are quite at home".

Vietnamese workers have to learn many trades: spinning, weaving, reeling, brushing, which are indispensable for them after their return to their country. They are wholeheartedly trained by the Soviet weavers who also teach them how to keep safety in work.

At the "50 anniversary of the October socialist Revolution" mill in Pontava (Ukraine), there are also many Vietnamese weavers. Speaking of them, the managing board and trade-union of the factory informed us that they have contributed to the success of the enterprise; many of them have quickly mastered their technique and recorded outstanding achievements.

Nguyen Thi Oanh, spinner has always overfulfilled her daily quota. Her monthly wages are between 280 and 370 rubles. Her name is written on the list of honour of the factory. Tran Thi Hoa, reeler, sets an example for her zeal and discipline and is granted the title: "Young Stakhanovist worker of the eighties".

Pham Thi Ly, Nguyen Thi Bich Yen, Nguyen Thi Le, Nguyen Thi Lien, and other Vietnamese workers have excellently mastered their trade and become outstanding weavers. Admired by their Soviet mates, they have their names cited by the local mass media. The Vietnamese weavers enthusiastically take part in social activities. Their "Lotus" political singing troupe is frequently invited by colleges and enterprises and its performances are warmly welcomed.

In the last three years, at the textile mill Orekhova which produces every year 200 million metres of textiles, there are 1,000 Vietnamese weavers in apprenticeship. They are wholeheartedly helped by their skillful Soviet mates, particularly Antoniva Dusekia, an old hand in the factory. Speaking of her, Vietnamese friends, she said: "They are second to none in work. For instance, Nguyen Hong Nga, who outstrips me in labour efficiency, has fulfilled her monthly target by 135

Trained in the Soviet Union, the Vietnamese weavers will return soon to Vietnam. It is the skill and discipline and style of work they have learnt in Soviet textile mills that will help them to make worthy contributions to the development of the textile industry in their country.

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Quy Hop Tin Mine

42000210b Hanoi THE VIETNAMESE TRADE
UNIONS in English No 6, Nov-Dec 87 pp 11-13

[Article by Thanh Phong: "They Live and Work at Quy Hop"]

[Text] Quy Hop lies in a valley, west of Nghe Tinh province, now it is turned into a beautiful townlet. Mirroring in a lake are new high buildings, where are housed the seat of the managing board of the Union of tin processing enterprises and the dwellings of Soviet technicians. Around this "artificial lake" are scaffoldings of new constructions, heralding the emergence of a future industrial centre.

Looking at the new tarmac road linking the centre of Quy Hop to Chau Cuong mine, a geologist told us: "When we arrived here for the first time, this road did not yet exist, it was then a mere beaten track; even the drilling rig was to be taken to pieces and after carried on shoulders. However, at that time, it was twenty years ago—the Soviet geologists already made their presence felt".

Only a few years before, the people of Nghe Tinh province trembled with fear when hearing of such names as Phu Quy, Song Lo, Rung Lim, given the fact that those regions were most unhealthy and infested with wild animals. But before Quy Hop became a district town, footprints of geologists were seen everywhere in the valleys, including those of Soviet geologists who went in search of tin for Vietnam. Antony Phedotov, head of the Soviet exploring team, told us passionately of such villages in this tin-ore region as Ban Pen, Ban Moi, Ban Hac. Native of Vladivostik, he spoke little of himself but frequently of his friends, Soviet and Vietnamese alike. The first tin exploration team was set up at Quy Hop in 1963 and Phedotov was present in 1969. Like his Vietnamese counterparts, he also slept in the jungle, weathered sun and rain and had a bowl of rice to eat and a canteen of water to drink, but he worked with devotion to find out ore. The Vietnamese geologists will never forget the funny stories he told them to shorten the long nights in forest. Coming in Quy Hop in the early days were also Valen Kinfrich, Mikhail Ivanovich, Victor Vassilievich, Iura Ivanovich who were experienced geologists of the tin mines in Kamchatka. Before coming to Quy Hop, many of them had worked in remote mountainous regions of Vietnam.

After his most difficult time of exploration of Quy Hop, Kinfrich works at Union One at Quy Hop. Nobody could forget the devotion of Pandinsky who has put all his heart and soul in his work. As he grew thin, we were anxious for his health but he said smiling: "I am in the best of health. Don't worry about me. As your country is facing difficulties, many of you work more eagerly than I". At the head-office of the Tin Union, we saw banana trees and papaw trees laden with fruit and a beautiful flower garden. Vo Quang Hong, assistant-manager of the Union, told Me: "They are tended by us and our Soviet friends on the socialist labour days". Lacking transportation means, Phedotov willingly took place in a car with our workers. When the vehicle had a break-down or the road was in bad order he also joined the driver and the Vietnamese passengers to repair the machine or the road. many Vietnamese geologists could be brought to full development thanks to his devoted assistance. Nevertheless, he always showed his readiness to listen to their ideas and suggestions. He told them in confidence: "We are the link between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. We come to Quy Hop with the sole aim to devise the best scheme for prolonging the life span of the tin mine".

Traffic on the road linking Quy Hop townlet to Chau Chuong mine is most heavy: lorries, bulldozers, cranes busily go to and fro in an atmosphere of emulation to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. While Soviet and Vietnamese geologists are bending their heads on a map or on an ore sample, at the

work-site Soviet technicians and Vietnamese workers are busily building the framework of the mine for exploitation of the ore. Phan Huu Ruc, engineer, director of Quy Hop mine told us: "The Soviet technicians work for us with all their heart. They are present even in the most trying circumstances. Accustomed to a peaceful life in Hanoi, when called to work at Quy Hop in the first days I had some reluctance, particularly in the season of hot wind, and I realize more clearly the devotion of the Soviet technicians and know how precious is their friendship".

Today Quy Hop townlet is licked into shape. The tarmac road and electric light have changed the appearance of this mountainous region. Big water mains and huge machines lie higgledy-piggledy on the ground, near new buildings. In the electric light, crystals of tin ore are sparkling like a myriad of stars; the first batches of tin are melted by semi-mechanical means. In future a tin processing workshop will be built together with a motor repair section, a laboratory and a transformer station.

The extraction of the Quy Hop tin mine is under way. It is the result of 20 years of exploration with the assistance of the Soviet geologists and engineers who have been working hand in glove with our technicians and workers to turn this region west of Uncle Ho's native province into a prosperous industrial centre.

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